



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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CONTENTS

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

East European Troop Withdrawals Discussed [Moscow TV]	1
Internal NATO Nuclear Modernization Disputes Cited [Bogachev on TASS]	5

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gremitskikh Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing	7
Shevardnadze Visits Middle East [TASS]	7
Missile Modernization Denied [TASS]	7
Icelandic Statement Praised [TASS]	7
Maghreb, Japan Discussed [TASS]	7
Bessmertnykh Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 17 Feb	8
Afghanistan Settlement Sought [Ptashnikov on Moscow Radio]	8
Many Have Say in Settlement [TASS]	9
'Special Messages' Sent [TASS]	9
Vietnam Parallel Rejected [TASS]	10
Bush Cited on Afghanistan, Contra Aid, FRG Stance [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Feb]	10
NATO 'Secret' Forecast on Economy Cited [PRAVDA 12 Feb]	11
Western Europe Supporting 'Peace' Initiatives [Babenko on TASS]	11
Release of POW's in Afghanistan Sought [Moscow Radio]	12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

U.S. To Continue Support for Afghan Rebels	13
Bush on Afghan Army 'Stockpiles' [SELSKAYA ZHIZN 18 Feb]	13
Fitzwater Notes Gorbachev Message [TASS]	13
Baker Comments on Military Aid [TASS]	13
Baker Takes No 'New Ideas' on European Tour [IZVESTIYA 19 Feb]	13
Bogachev on U.S. Relations With NATO Allies [TASS]	14
No 'Turnaround' Seen in USSR-U.S. Ties [Korionov in PRAVDA 21 Feb]	14
New U.S. Satellite To Spot Missile Launches [TASS]	16

Northeast Asia

Rogachev, Japan's Kuriyama Discuss Peace Treaty [TASS]	16
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Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodian Beam Reports on 2d Jakarta Conference	16
Prospects for Settlement Viewed [Moscow International]	16
Ends Without Bringing Sides Closer [Moscow International]	17

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Visits Syria, Meets Leaders	17
Denies Decreased Interest in Region [Moscow TV]	17
Holds Talks With Al-Asad [PRAVDA 19 Feb]	18
Meets With Khaddam, Al-Shar' [PRAVDA 20 Feb]	18

Gives Dinner Speech [TASS]	19
Statement on Visit Issued [TASS]	21
Shevardnadze Holds News Conference [TASS]	22
Departs Syria [TASS]	24
Shevardnadze Visits Jordan, Meets Leaders	24
Visit Welcomed by Foreign Minister [TASS]	24
Arrives in Amman [TASS]	24
Interviewed by Jordan TV [TASS]	24
Meets Husayn, Prime Minister [PRAVDA 20 Feb]	25
Views Talks With Leaders [TASS]	26
Ends 1-Day Visit, Departs [TASS]	27
Shevardnadze Visits Egypt, Meets Leaders	27
Visit Viewed by Mubarak [TASS]	27
Arrives; Meets Press, Mubarak [Moscow TV]	27
Holds Talks With Mubarak [PRAVDA 21 Feb]	28
Notes Agreement on Mideast Conflict [Moscow International]	28
Visit Welcomed by Al-Majid [TASS]	29
Speaks on Ties, Mideast Conference [TASS]	29
Shevardnadze To Meet Israel's Arens in Cairo [TASS]	31
Bessmertnykh, Varennikov Discuss Afghan Pullout	31
Answer Questions at News Conference [IZVESTIYA 19 Feb]	31
Further on News Conference [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Feb]	32
Afghanistan Announces State of Emergency [PRAVDA 19 Feb]	33
Situation in Kabul Following Emergency Decree [Moscow International]	34
Patrolled by Government Troops [Moscow Radio]	34
Food Consignment Delivered to Kabul [Moscow TV]	35
Afghanistan Military Situation Reported [IZVESTIYA 21 Feb]	35
Further on Military Situation [IZVESTIYA 19 Feb]	36
Afghan Rebel Military Actions Detailed [TASS]	38
Vorontsov Holds New Delhi News Conference	38
Denounces Pakistani Interference [TASS]	38
Reports Kabul-Rebel 'Dialogue' [Moscow TV]	38
Urges Peaceful Afghan Settlement [Moscow Radio]	39

East Europe

CSSR's Adamec, Delegation Conclude Visit	39
'Cordial' Talks With Gorbachev [TASS]	39
Ryzhkov, Others Receive Adamec [PRAVDA 18 Feb]	40
News Conference on Talks [Prague CTK]	40
Further on News Conference [PRAVDA 18 Feb]	41
Ryzhkov, Adamec Speak at Dinner [PRAVDA 18 Feb]	41
Joint Statement on Visit [PRAVDA 19 Feb]	45
Visit to Electronics Enterprise [Prague Radio]	47
Adamec Interviewed on Talks [Prague TV]	47
Ryzhkov Says Talks 'Successful' [Prague CTK]	48
Adamec Departs 18 Feb [TASS]	48
Polish Paper Carries New Report on Katyn [Moscow Radio]	48
MSZMP Plenum Discusses New Constitution [TASS]	48

West Europe

Message to UK Urges Cooperation on Afghanistan [TASS]	49
UK's Howe on Gorbachev Visit, Arms Issues [PRAVDA 18 Feb]	49
Voronin Supports Expanded Trade With France [IZVESTIYA 17 Feb]	49
Petrovskiy, UK Envoy Discuss Near East [IZVESTIYA 17 Feb]	50
Petrovskiy Meets With Norwegian Ambassador [IZVESTIYA 17 Feb]	50
Envoy Conveys Carlsson Message for Ryzhkov [IZVESTIYA 17 Feb]	50
Bessmertnykh Receives Spanish Ambassador 14 Feb [IZVESTIYA 16 Feb]	50

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Gorbachev Begins 'Working Program' in Ukraine	51
Observes 'Mriya' Flight in Kiev [Moscow TV]	51
Program Stresses Science, Technology [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 21 Feb]	51
'Dissident' Reports Demonstrations [AFP]	54
Gorbachev Meets Kiev Inhabitants [PRAVDA 21 Feb]	55
TV Shows Kiev Conversations	56
Radio Reports Talks With Residents	59
TV Shows Science Institute Tour	60
More on Gorbachev-Industrial Workers Exchange [PRAVDA 16 Feb]	61
16 February CPSU Politburo Session Reported [PRAVDA 18 Feb]	70
CPSU Central Committee Ideology Chief Interviewed [PRAVDA 20 Feb]	72
More on Election Campaigns for People's Deputies	76
Yeltsin Fails To Win Kolumna Vote [PRAVDA 18 Feb]	76
Yeltsin Demands Free Elections [Vienna TV]	77
Yeltsin Interviewed on Budapest TV [Budapest TV]	77
Moscow Election Meeting Reported [Moscow Radio]	79
Lizichev Outlines Election Program [Moscow TV]	80
24 Feb Proclaimed Estonian Independence Day [TASS]	82
Independence Party Criticized [SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 5 Feb]	82
People's Front Issues Declaration [MAALEHT 9 Feb]	84
Party Paper on 'Occupation' [HOMELAND 8 Feb]	84
More on Lithuanian Independence Day Celebrations	85
'Alarming' Backdrop to Festivities [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Feb]	85
Brazauskas at Independence Ceremony [Vilnius International]	86
'Odious' Slogans at Vilnius Rally [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Feb]	86
More Vilnius Protests Pledged Over Language Law [AFP]	88
Further on 'Unity' Rally on Multilingualism [Vilnius International]	88
Groups Criticize Rallies [Vilnius Radio]	89
Armenian Train Derails; Panel To Investigate [PRAVDA 21 Feb]	90
Zaykov Meets Higher School Directors [TASS]	90
Role of Communist Party Apparatchiks Analyzed [PRAVDA 13 Feb]	90

Economic

Economists Discuss Ruble Convertibility [TASS]	94
New Financial News Agency Formed in Leningrad [TASS]	95
Benefits of 'Special Economic Zones' Argued [PRAVDA 12 Feb]	95
*Domestic Consumers Hurt by Export Provisions [PRAVDA 14 Feb]	96

Scientific

'Mir' Crew Continues Experiments 17 Feb [TASS]	98
Crew Replacement; New Plans [TASS]	99
Plans for New Modules [TASS]	99
'Phobos' in New Orbit To Study Mars Satellite [TASS]	99
Technical Conference on Mars Exploration Ends [TASS]	100
'Cosmos-2003' Satellite Launched on 17 Feb [TASS]	100
Commission Discusses Prevention of AIDS [Moscow Radio]	101

Military

Candidate Deputies Sorokin, Yefimov Meet Veterans [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Feb]	101
Army Political Aides Confer, Lizichev Attends [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Feb]	101
Komsomol Seeks To Commemorate Afghan Campaigners [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVA 15 Feb] ..	102
Work Proceeds on New History of Patriotic War [IZVESTIYA 17 Feb]	102

East European Troop Withdrawals Discussed
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["In the Countries of Socialism" program, presented by political observer Viktor Lyubovtsev, with Major General Viktor Mikhaylovich Tatarnikov, representative of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and Bulgarian radio and television correspondent Stefan Todorov, CSSR television correspondent Miroslav Bouda, Polish radio and television correspondent Leslaw Nowak, and GDR television correspondent Stefan Kuehnrich]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified narrator] Highly advanced perfect weapons are being scrapped. Missiles are being blown up. Nuclear death is being destroyed. [video shows destruction of shorter-range missiles at Saryozek]

[Lyubovtsev] Hello, esteemed comrades. The footage you have just seen may serve as a distinctive epigraph to today's program. This documentary footage was filmed at the Soviet range where, in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, our formidable weapons are being destroyed.

We have decided to devote today's program to disarmament issues, or more precisely to the issues of cutbacks in conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe. As you know, such significant and major cutbacks were announced by other socialist countries—our Warsaw Pact allies—after the Soviet Union.

Normally in our program we talk about economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the fraternal countries and about cultural exchanges between them. Today we will be talking about military policy and our collaboration and cooperation in precisely this key area, which is decisive for the security and peaceful development of the peoples.

I have invited my colleagues—correspondents from the socialist countries accredited in Moscow—to take part in our program. They permanently live and work in our country. Let me introduce them to you:

Stefan Todorov, correspondent for Bulgarian television and radio;
Miroslav Bouda, correspondent for Czechoslovak television;
Leslaw Nowak, correspondent for Polish television and radio, and finally,
Stefan Kuehnrich, correspondent for GDR television.

So that our discussion is more professional and competent we have asked Major General Viktor Mikhaylovich Tatarnikov, a representative of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, to take part in it. [video shows Tatarnikov] But first I would like to remind our viewers that on 7 December, speaking at the United Nations, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev announced unilateral cutbacks in Soviet armed forces over the next 2 years, 1989-90.

The strength of the Army will be reduced by 500,000 men, the number of tanks by 10,000, the number of artillery systems by 8,500 and finally, the number of military aircraft by 800.

Viktor Mikhaylovich, what do such cutbacks in the Soviet Armed Forces mean in practice?

[Tatarnikov] Well, if we sort all the numbers into purely specific categories, so to speak, this means a major and comprehensive reduction. Not only are we reducing tanks but we are also cutting back aircraft, we are cutting back artillery, armored personnel carriers, engineering equipment, and even tactical missiles, and that's a very important detail. Well, in order to be able to visualize this, as everyone probably knows, military strength is defined by the numbers of divisions, and if we compare, 10,000 tanks means more than 30 tank divisions. At the same time, the West used to say to us at one time that if you were to cut back just a few tank divisions, let's say, two or three tank divisions, that would be an enormous step. But do you see by how many we are cutting back?

[Lyubovtsev] Thirty.

[Tatarnikov] This step speaks for itself. In essence this is a transfer, a material transfer. It is, so to speak, a materialization of our doctrine, our defensive doctrine, and we are already putting such new indicators into this doctrine. We are making unilateral cuts. Of course, this is an exceptionally serious step. It was elaborated, worked out, and coordinated with our fraternal countries, equally, in the defense ministers committees and at the top level.

[Lyubovtsev] That means that, as is known, a proportion of the armed forces—over 50,000 officers and men—and over half the tanks—5,300, if I'm not mistaken—are being reduced, and a significant proportion of the aircraft will be withdrawn from the Soviet forces stationed on the territory of the European socialist countries. In this connection, many Soviet people and, I think, inhabitants of the fraternal socialist countries, too, are asking a legitimate question: Won't the defense capability of our treaty, the Warsaw Pact, be weakened?

[Tatarnikov] Primarily, as a military specialist who knows the situation in Europe, I think that, in general, an abnormal military situation has taken shape in Europe now. Imagine: There are over 7 million men under arms in Europe now, and they are crack troops. There is the very best equipment, and there is the very best weaponry. Bismarck said that if arms are constantly increased, then the time will come when they shoot by themselves. I'm not quoting, I'm paraphrasing. This, approximately, is the situation which has taken shape at the present time. A first step needs to be taken, the situation needs to be relaxed, and these mountains need to be reduced, cut—and cut to levels which are sufficient for defense alone. We have proposed this, and we are doing it in practice.

[Lyubovtsev] I now have a question for Stefan Kuehnrich, correspondent of GDR television. For many years we were saying that the GDR is located on the very edge of the socialist world, that it is in the front line and almost the first trench, and so on. But nowadays, these terms and notions seem somewhat obsolete. Life itself is breaking the stereotypes of our thinking and it was not by accident that the GDR, which, indeed, finds itself on the line of contact of the two blocs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, also announced the reduction of its armed forces.

[Kuehnrich] You know, I personally think the GDR is already playing a special role within the structure of the Warsaw Pact countries. This is not because we function better than others, but because we are located on the border between the blocs, and the (?opposition) of forces is greatest both in the GDR and the FRG. And in my view this means that we must make the first step toward the direction for the better.

[Lyubovtsev] What I think you are saying is that the decision on the unilateral reduction required a special boldness from the GDR in particular.

[Kuehnrich] Yes, one could put it that way. As you know, Erich Honecker expressed such initiatives during the visit of the Swedish prime minister to the GDR and during this visit—I was also in Berlin and I worked in the editorial office—we immediately felt and it became clear to us that Honecker's speech on that day was a true sensation.

[Lyubovtsev] A sensation?

[Kuehnrich] Yes, a sensation, a sensation. People in our country immediately welcomed these initiatives: 500 to 600 tanks, 50 aircraft, 10,000 soldiers, and 10 percent of the budget! This is a lot, a great deal, and the response was enormous. It would be better to see what our people said, so we filmed several interviews in the street.

[Lyubovtsev] In the streets of Berlin. [passage omitted; recorded interviews with German citizens] Well, I have the same question regarding the response to the reduction of the armed forces for our Bulgarian colleague Stefan Todorov. Incidentally, please remind us of the reduction figures.

[Todorov] The military budget has been cut by 12 percent....

[Lyubovtsev, interrupting] Will be cut.

[Todorov] Will be cut by the year 1990. It is already proceeding toward that reduction in 1989. We are already working toward this. The Armed Forces will be cut by 10,000 people, 200 tanks, 200 artillery systems, 20 aircraft, and 50 naval units. These seem to be the figures. It is quite a lot when one considers the scale of our Army and our country.

Well, what do I wish to say here in (?my address)? We will, of course, repeat that the reaction was positive, since our government and our political and state leadership have been for a long time conducting the policy of detente in the Balkans. The Bulgarian proposal on a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and the proposal of Bulgaria and Romania on a zone free of chemical weapons, is, of course, known to you. Today's spirit, which is settling in in the Balkans is, in any case, positive. It is sufficient to say that Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia have quite friendly relations; that there exists a kind of thaw in Albania. The relations between Bulgaria and Greece are considered to be an example of peaceful coexistence of countries with two different systems. This step represents a natural continuation of the policy pursued by our party and state leadership during the whole time of Bulgaria's existence as a socialist country in the Balkans, especially as this reduction, as is known, has economic parameters. In the period in which Bulgaria now finds itself—the period of complex economic reforms—this reduction of the military budget and of everything linked with the military industry is able in the best possible way to influence, promote, and stimulate economic prospects for the development of our reforms.

Not all is unequivocal, of course. In essence, the Turkish Army, which is the biggest one in Europe with regard to its numbers, is on the southern flank of NATO. According to the data, it is some 600,000 strong. This army is excellently armed, and the U.S. fleet is in the Mediterranean. This is not far from Italy, which has on more than one occasion interfered in the Balkans in solving its own political problems. This kind of risk definitely (?exists) and it seems to me that certain film shots from the press conference in Sofia that I can present could be very instructive. [video shows a military press conference; man dressed in a military uniform, identified as a military observer for Bulgarian television, is asking question]

[Begin recording] [Military observer, in Bulgarian with superimposed Russian translation] There is no doubt that the new political decision of the Warsaw Pact member states is meeting with wide approval both in our country and from the public in all countries of the world. I would like to ask, how do our young people assess this event? What are, in the view of the Defense Ministry, the tasks of our propaganda and mass media in connection with this?

[Colonel General Kristo Dobrev, Bulgarian first deputy defense minister; identified by caption, in Bulgarian with superimposed Russian translation] The processes of strengthening the peaceful policy of the socialist countries are developing steadily. We feel they have to be given fixed attention and that we have to support them even in the future. But it is necessary that these peace-loving moods correspond to reality and that they do not advance too quickly, so they do not contradict the interests of a country's defense. It is well-known that the prerequisites for pacifist moods among the population, particularly among young people, appear occasionally.

We therefore consider that with the help of our educational work we must explain the state of affairs so that such moods do not become a kind of obstacle to the reliable defense of our country and strengthening of military parity, which is necessary for us. [video shows Dobrev at rostrum] [end recording]

[Todorov] Well, the question by the military observer for Bulgarian television was answered by Col Gen Kristo Dobrev, the first deputy minister of defense for the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This is, of course, a small portion of his news conference in which the chief of staff of the Bulgarian People's Army also participated. So you would not be left with the impression that our military is in some way, say....

[Lyubovtsev, interrupting] dissatisfied with the decision.

[Todorov] Dissatisfied with the decision—naturally, it was already said that this is a unanimous decision. But, such a nuance does exist in our country and I think that this is most likely the case in all countries, as far I can tell.

[Lyubovtsev] What is your opinion, Viktor Mikhaylovich?

[Tatarnikov] I completely agree with Stefan Todorov that on the southern flank there is major superiority on the side of the NATO countries, not just with respect to air forces but also purely ground forces. Of course there are misgivings, but I have to say that we have to approach it from the point of view of all Warsaw Pact states, so to speak, that is of our union. That is, the security problems Bulgaria faces—they completely, 100 percent so to speak, relate as well to us, to the other countries of the Warsaw Pact.

[Unidentified voices] Indeed. Naturally. [laughter]

[Lyubovtsev] In connection with this I would like to remind you, colleagues, of Article 5 of the treaty signed on 14 May 1955. I have brought the text with me—the original, first, main text of the Warsaw Treaty—and it contains the following words: The contracting parties will take coordinated measures necessary to strengthen their defense capability in order to protect the peaceful labor of their peoples, to guarantee the inviolability of their borders and territories, and to ensure defense against possible aggression. As I understand it, all this remains effective.

[Voices] Of course.

[Todorov] Of course, and that is why after these cutbacks were announced there was no panic in Bulgaria. Bulgaria received this with understanding and, all in all, with joy.

[Tatarnikov] Furthermore, if I may, I would like to add here that now our military structuring—of the Warsaw Pact countries—should be ensured through qualitative rather than quantitative parameters. I think that is a very important aspect. The time has come and we should improve our armed forces at the level of defense, at the

levels of the defensive doctrine but with very high quality both with respect to equipment and with respect to personnel; that is, its capabilities, professionalism, and training. We think that this will enable us to maintain our security at the appropriate level, including the security of Bulgaria.

[Todorov] Of course, and then we are also expecting that the process of detente is going to continue and that the new political thinking, which is now becoming our doctrine, is going to bear fruit precisely in this field, and that is why everything here is unequivocal. We have simply already made our choice.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you. I have a question for Miroslav Bouda, Czechoslovak television correspondent. Well, as everyone says, Czechoslovakia lies in the heart of Europe, at the very center of the continent. Issues of war and peace, the fate of the continent, have always since time immemorial, affected the pulse of Czechoslovak life. What is this pulse like now, Miroslav?

[Bouda] In our country the situation is the same as in the other socialist countries. Now the people have welcomed the decision of the defense council to cut back weapons. But, I would like to say that a quick glance at a map of Europe shows which land, which territory would be the first to feel a military conflict. I think it would above all be Czechoslovakia.

I too have prepared some footage. Perhaps we could take a look at it.

[Lyubovtsev] Right, let us take a look. [video shows T-54/55 tanks in the field, BMP-1 armored personnel carriers in the field and being unloaded from railway flat cars, Mi-24 assault helicopters, group of Warsaw Pact officers; caption reads: Sumava-88 Military Exercises (CSSR)]

[Bouda] I think that this can in a way be called historical footage because, for example, the number of divisional and regimental exercises in Czechoslovakia this year and next is going to be cut by 50 percent.

[Lyubovtsev] That means there will be only half as many.

[Bouda] Only half as many. Field firing will be reduced by 30 percent. Three combined-arms divisions will be reorganized to depots; their fighting equipment will be mothballed. I can also say that we are cutting back our Army. It is reducing its tank numbers by 850. This data clearly shows what is now happening. Many years ago we used to hear that military spending had to be increased annually. That is why I think that now the strength of common sense has overcome the strength of war. Our people welcome this.

[Lyubovtsev] Well, so far our Polish colleague, Leslaw Nowak, Polish radio and television correspondent, has not spoken. I would like to remind the viewers that after the Soviet Union, Poland is the largest socialist country

in Europe. Presumably the Polish Army too has to be regarded as probably the largest after our armed forces, those of the Soviet Union. What cutbacks are planned in the Polish Army?

[Nowak] In our country specific measures for reducing the armed forces and armaments have been in progress for 2 years now. There was an extensive interview on the subject with Army General Florian Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and national defense minister. He discussed what these measures have brought about specifically. Over 2 years the country's armed forces were reduced by 15,000. Specific numbers of tanks, artillery guns, and planes were withdrawn from service. A number of other measures were also taken. All this is being reflected in the plans for the future. Until that time the expenditure for military purposes in our country came to 4 percent of national income.

A principle was also in operation that as the national income increased, which takes place every year, the absolute amount of expenditure on defense also increased. Now there is a different solution. This year, in 1989, the share of defense expenditure in the national income is being reduced by 4 percent. Of course, this is also reflected in the national Defense Ministry budget. Last year the appropriate figure came to 7.7 percent of the country's budget, whereas this year it comes to 5.5. What else can I tell you? I can tell you that in absolute figures the expenditure on defense is not an excessively great amount. It is a figure on the order of 954 billion Polish zlotys. That is exactly as much as the subsidy from the country's budget for milk and dairy products production.

How was this received in our country? Of course, like everywhere else it was received well. Obviously, it is better to disarm than to build up armaments, especially if you, like our country, are having certain difficulties in the economy. It is better to save resources for purposes other than the military.

[Lyubovtsev] Viktor Mikhaylovich, I would like to ask a question, taking this opportunity of having a representative of the General Staff participating in our discussion. Are all these cutbacks not weakening the fighting spirit of the Army? How is the future of the regular serviceman going to be handled, both in the Soviet Union and in other countries of the Warsaw Pact?

[Tatarnikov] I would like to say that we realize how serious these cutback plans are. These plans first and foremost are coordinated among all the countries of the Warsaw Pact. There is a permanent exchange of opinions, the situation is being analyzed, and now the leadership, in particular the Defense Ministry, is engaged in ensuring that, above all, these cutbacks are carried out painlessly for the combat readiness of the Armed Forces, for the defense capabilities of the state, and second, in ensuring job resettlement for the officers, sergeants, and men who are being discharged. I only think that all this

has to be organized so that things do not just happen and this is what the Armed Forces and the leadership of the Armed Forces is currently doing.

[Bouda] Excuse me, but I would like to know when the plan for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the Soviet Army, will be published? Is a timetable for this being drafted?

[Tatarnikov] Yes, such a timetable is being drafted. And I can say that this is now no longer a secret. We spoke about this timetable and it will be published this year. In particular, I can say that this year, for example, Soviet troops will be withdrawn from the GDR in the following strength: The 25th and 32d Tank Divisions, 2 independent training tank regiments, and 8 independent battalions will be withdrawn. Next year the 12th Tank Division, the 7th Tank Division, a landing assault brigade, 3 training regiments, a training tank regiment, and independent battalions will be withdrawn from the GDR. This is a major withdrawal.

Now, Miroslav, this is what concerns Czechoslovakia: This year two independent battalions will be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia. Next year, in 1990, the 31st Tank Division, a landing-assault battalion, and a combat engineer's regiment will be withdrawn.

This year the 13th Tank Division, a training tank regiment, a fighter aviation regiment, and a landing-assault battalion will be withdrawn from the Hungarian People's Republic. A force redeployment will also be implemented. The forces will be withdrawn to the rear, in keeping with our defensive doctrine and linked with its implementation.

Concerning the Polish People's Republic, this year a tank regiment, an anti-aircraft missile regiment, and an individual helicopter regiment will be withdrawn.

Well, and this in brief is how the timetable of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the countries I have listed looks.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you. We have the following figure: R300 million. That is how much was saved in the Soviet Union last year, in 1988, thanks to switching over from the manufacture of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and launch installations for these missiles, to civilian production. R300 million. No doubt there will be even greater savings from our currently planned unilateral measures for reducing armed forces and armaments. To conclude the program I have the following question for you, colleagues: Where would you personally invest the resources saved in your country which are going to be released as the result of the cutbacks in armies and armaments? Let us begin with you, Miroslav.

[Bouda] As a citizen of Czechoslovakia I would say that above all we need new hospitals, for example, because there are great reserves here for the health service. But, because we want to go further along this road, I think

that this money could also be put to a good use in tourism, because it is a very good thing when people meet. That too helps strengthen peace, cooperation, and the atmosphere in Europe.

[Lyubovtsev] Stefan, your answer to this mini-poll. Go ahead, please.

[Todorov] Well, in any case in the social sphere. At the time when we used to construct our antimilitarist arguments we worked out how much one tank cost in terms of a nursery; how much a missile installation cost compared to the cost of a school, say, or several dozen or hundreds of schools. So I think we have to return to the sources of our antimilitarist propaganda and say that this money should in any case go into the social sphere. Where and how, and through what economic mechanisms will it get there is up to our economic reforms, which are in progress.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you. Leslaw, your turn.

[Nowak] Indeed. We have a great many priorities, but I think that first of all I would invest such resources in the development of agriculture, second in the development of housing construction, and third in the development of telephone communications. We have a great shortage in this and also, by the way, good plans for the next 5 years, so if we can save resources in military economy and transfer them there I think that would bring great benefits.

[Lyubovtsev] Stefan, go ahead please.

[Kuehnrich] Well, in our country so far, as in the others, a decision has been made on peaceful uses of war technology. Apart from this, it is not always a bad thing when we can use more money in the economy. Forgive me; for me this is a secondary question. The primary question, and especially in our country, is the step forward in the area of (?political) relations between the East and West.

[Lyubovtsev] Well, allow me to ask the general this question as well. Viktor Mikhaylovich, how would you personally use the saved resources?

[Tatarnikov] I personally would use these resources for the food program, for solving problems in the social sector, for providing modern conveniences in the countryside. I would also use a proportion of these resources to rehabilitate our men and officers who have returned from Afghanistan, especially the maimed and sick. Apart from that I think that these resources can also in part be used for painlessly transferring the numerous detachments of servicemen who are now going to be discharged to the civilian track. Here are three sectors for you.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you. Well, I too have an answer to this question. I would probably use these resources saved through cutbacks in the Army and armaments first of all for the development of consumer electronics of which there is such a shortage in our country, including the manufacture of television sets, as well as new television channels and relay lines, so that, for example, all our

countries could be directly linked by television relay lines and so in any country at any time you could turn on a program from another country. That way our children could learn about the achievements in culture, in science, as well as from appearances by journalists.

Esteemed comrades, thank you for taking part in our program. Thank you, comrade viewers, for your attention. All the best. Good-bye.

Internal NATO Nuclear Modernization Disputes Cited
LD1802133289 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT
18 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

The NATO nuclear arms modernisation problem in Europe has recently become such a sensitive barometer of the state of relations between the members of the alliance that some U.S. official spokesmen at one time even demanded that the public discussion of the issue be stopped.

Really, the importance of the discussion goes far beyond the scope of the problem of whether new U.S. missiles with a range of up to 500 km instead of the present Lance systems should or should not be deployed in Western Europe.

Other much more important problems of NATO are also associated with the arms modernisation issue. Dependent on how the issue will be resolved is both the Atlantists' reaction to the 'Gorbachev effect', as the impact of the Soviet peace initiatives on the world public opinion is referred to in the West, the role of nuclear weapons in the military strategy of the alliance, the correlation of political and military means in the pursuance of an overall foreign policy of the alliance members, and taking into account the special security interests of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The recent get-acquainted tour of European countries of NATO by new U.S. Secretary of State James Baker again acutely raised the modernisation issue and revealed serious differences in the alliance over the issue. Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the FRG quite unexpectedly emerged in the role of disturber of tranquility.

Way back in November last year, THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper reported with reference to reliable sources that the FRG was prepared to support U.S. and British demands for modernisation of nuclear arms without waiting for the elaboration of NATO's 'defence concept' or clear-cut guidelines in the field of arms control.

When in an interview with a British newspaper the chancellor of the FRG stated that his government would take a final decision on tactical missiles not earlier than 1991-92, many Atlantists thought apparently that Helmut Kohl simply put it infelicitously. However, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, Baker during his

European tour got a vivid idea of what is referred to as the 'Gorbachev factor' when the West German chancellor confirmed during discussion that Bonn is now unprepared to take any decision on modernisation of the outdated Lance tactical missile.

Western analysts with one accord explain Kohl's resistance to U.S. and British pressure by the forthcoming parliamentary elections in the FRG the population of which resolutely opposes a nuclear rearmament of NATO.

Speaking in the U.S. National Military College, Stephen Sabo, an expert on European affairs said, referring to

NATO's nuclear modernisation, that it was better to wait for everything to settle down even if that meant that the Lance system would get outdated somewhat further than expected.

Entering the present era which has taken the place of the deterrence era, we should pay more attention to the political aspects, Sabo said.

What is it? The sprouts of the new political thinking in the United States? One would like to hope that this is really so.

Gremitskikh Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing

Shevardnadze Visits Middle East

LD2002150188 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1413 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Feb (TASS)—A solution to the most complex Arab-Israeli conflict can and must be found only by political means on a collective basis, it was stated at a briefing here today by Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Soviet Union, he said, has on more than one occasion expressed its solidarity with the Palestinian people. In the course of the current trip by the Soviet foreign minister around a number of countries of the Near and Middle East, it has been stressed that the continuing peaceful uprising of the Palestinian people points to the need for a speedy political settlement in the Near East. The representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed the hope that, in the final analysis, Israel "would display a feeling of high responsibility for the fate of the region, and would realize the ruinous nature of reliance on a policy of force, which is incapable of securing either peace or security in the Near East."

Yuriy Gremitskikh reported that a meeting would take place in Cairo between Eduard Shevardnadze and the Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens for an exchange of views on matters relating to a Near Eastern settlement.

Replying to a question, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel was possible only within the framework of a comprehensive Near Eastern settlement.

Missile Modernization Denied

LD2002161889 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT
20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today denied a West German weekly's charges that the Soviet Union is rapidly upgrading its tactical nuclear missile force, while NATO is only debating similar modernization.

Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, described Sunday's article by the Hamburg-based weekly BILD as playing the part of a mouthpiece for the hawks in the Pentagon and other military agencies.

Quoting an "official report" of the West German Government, BILD cited numerous figures and military technical details to support its charges.

"As to figures and comparisons alleging Soviet superiority over NATO in tactical nuclear arms, they should, logically, make NATO countries, including their mass

media and even the likes of BILD, interested in talks on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in the continent to ever lower levels on both sides. But this just isn't happening.

"By contrast, certain circles and news outlets are in fact urging another round of the nuclear arms race, this time in tactical nuclear systems," the Soviet spokesman commented.

Stressing that the Soviet Union has repeatedly declared that it is not modernizing its tactical nuclear missile force, he added: "Claims by the weekly BILD are known to be true far from always. The case in question is an untruth through and through."

Icelandic Statement Praised

LD2002155289 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT
20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—The recent pronouncement by Icelandic Prime Minister Steingrímur Hermannsson that 'nuclear weapons will not be deployed on Icelandic territory either at peace time or war time' has been taken note of in the Soviet Union, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here today.

This statement, he pointed out, is in our view yet another illustration of the North Europeans' mounting interest in security- and confidence-building and in military and political stability in the region. The prime minister's positive attitude to the idea of convening an international conference on a reduction of arms in northern seas is viewed within the same context.

"We believe that such a conference, provided all the countries concerned, including the United States, participate in it, could promote the establishment of a substantive dialogue on matters aimed at limiting naval activities and at reducing arms at seas".

For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to make a constructive contribution to the accomplishment of this task, the USSR Foreign Ministry's spokesman emphasized.

Maghreb, Japan Discussed

LD2002162789 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT
20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—The news from Marrakech, Morocco about the establishment of a "Union of the Great Arab Maghreb" by five Arab countries in north-western Africa has generated enormous interest in the Soviet Union, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said at a briefing here on Monday.

Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told newsmen that the results of the Marrakech summit were a logical follow-up to encouraging processes that had been developing in that region of late.

"One would like to hope that the rapprochement of the Maghreb countries will become a major earnest of their independent and peaceful development, a factor of stronger stability not only in the region, but also in the Mediterranean and the African Continent on the whole," he said.

Speaking about the U.N. Security Council resolution on Namibia, the Soviet spokesman emphasized that it launched a new stage in the activity of the United Nations that is directly responsible for the future of Namibia and its decolonisation.

The centre of gravity of the organisation's efforts is moving now towards the implementation of the U.N. plan in keeping with Security Council Resolution 435.

"It is clear for us that the most important thing is to secure political objectives of that resolution and its full and conscientious observance.

"It is the duty of nations strictly to abide by their commitments with regard to Namibian settlement and cooperate in this field with the U.N. secretary-general," he said.

In mentioning the second informal meeting on Kampuchea in Jakarta, Gremitskikh observed that the striving towards the Kampuchean settlement by way of talks and the search for political solutions enjoyed support of the international public.

"We express hope that the meeting's participants will reach a compromise that corresponds to the interests of the Kampuchean people," he pointed out.

The results of the meeting by the presidents of five Central American countries in El Salvador confirmed that the implementation of the Guatemala agreement remains the only alternative to the current situation in the region, said the Soviet spokesman.

"The USSR welcomed the measures, agreed upon during the talks, that are designed to eliminate the threat of the resumption of hostilities in Nicaragua and reach a final arrangement on the mechanism of monitoring compliance with the Guatemala agreement."

Gremitskikh announced that a Soviet delegation led by First Vice President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov was leaving for Japan today to attend the funeral of Emperor Hirohito.

During his visit to Japan to last till February 26, Lukyanov will meet several state and political figures of that country. There is an arrangement for Lukyanov's meeting with the prime minister and the foreign minister, the Soviet spokesman said.

Bessmertnykh Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 17 Feb

Afghanistan Settlement Sought

LD1702213289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Andrey Ptashnikov report]

[Text] [Ptashnikov] A news conference was held today for Soviet and foreign journalists in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center on the subject of the completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Taking part in this news conference were Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and Army General Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister. Comrade Bessmertnykh opened the news conference. Listen to part of what he said:

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording] The withdrawal of Soviet troops was undertaken by order of the Soviet Government and by agreement with the Afghan leadership. President Najibullah and other realistically minded Afghans have voiced their readiness to compromise. The Kabul government has relinquished its monopoly on power, and, displaying political generosity, is prepared to agree to a division of power among all conflicting groups. This political generosity does not show the weakness of the government and its leadership, but rather a desire to put national interests above fractional interests.

At the same time, we see that the tension in and around Afghanistan remains. All the attempts—which fly in the face of the centuries-old traditions of the Afghan people—to assemble various sorts of groupings abroad, to call them alliances or governments, and make them subservient to foreign powers motivated by their own selfish interests will not lead to a happy Afghanistan. Here we must not fail to draw attention to the Pakistani president's statement to the effect that Islamabad continues to hatch plans for the creation of a so-called Pakistani-Afghan confederation; that is, a plan to weaken Afghanistan and swallow it up.

This begs the question. Do the difficulties encountered in organizing a broader-based government—something the UN General Assembly resolution calls for in particular—not stem from the attempts to install in Kabul people who crave power so much that they are prepared to trade Afghanistan for the right to occupy the lofty seats of future Afghan rulers?

When all is said and done, settlement is being hampered by people who believe that the retention of an unstable and fragmented Afghanistan complicates the strategic position of the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union believes that the historic moment has come to make the maximum efforts through talks to achieve a settlement in Afghanistan. Everybody would gain from this: the countries of the region and the world community at large.

There would be an improvement in relations between states embroiled in the conflict, and the trend toward settling regional conflicts peacefully would be strengthened. [end recording]

[Ptashnikov] Then the participants in the news conference—I should remind you that these were Comrade Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and Army General Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister—replied to questions by journalists.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent, in English with superimposed Russian translation] A question from UPI. Does the comprehensive assistance to Afghanistan include military advisers, and have all Soviet troops really left or are there a few military advisers still left in Afghanistan?

[Bessmertnykh] On the question of troops, every last soldier has been withdrawn from the country. A small number of advisers, including military advisers, have remained in Kabul. However, these advisers are not attached to Afghan troops, but are attached to the Government of Afghanistan.

[Unidentified correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] ASSOCIATED PRESS. Mr General, could you tell me how many Soviet soldiers have died in Afghanistan, are missing without trace, and how many have been wounded? And my second question is more general: When General Gromov crossed the bridge on Wednesday, he said the Soviet Union had learned lessons from Afghanistan that would be put to use in the future.

[Varennikov] Just recently Comrade Shevardnadze, the foreign minister, announced that the loss of men incurred by the Soviet troops in Afghanistan was somewhere in the region of up to 15,000. As for those wounded, there are around 36,000. As for missing without trace, 312. The lessons and the conclusions boil down to the fact that in the new conditions we have found a solution to this difficult matter via a political route.

[Unidentified correspondent] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is a substantial contribution toward improving international political trust. We are standing on the threshold of fresh disarmament talks in Vienna. I would like to know your opinion on this: What role do you see for NATO in these future processes in the wake of the positive effect of the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan?

[Bessmertnykh] Unquestionably, what is being done and what has been done over the withdrawal of Soviet troops is a reflection of the new mentality in our politics. We also believe that this action should promote a reinforcement of this trend in world affairs. We would like the leaders of the world's major states, including of course the leaders of the NATO countries, to start thinking in a similar if not identical way. [end recording]

Many Have Say in Settlement

LD1702131589 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—On whom does it depend to secure that developments in Afghanistan and around it take a positive turn? In answer to this question Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, speaking at a news conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry's press centre today, said: "It depends on the Soviet Union. But it has done and is doing everything possible for peace to set in in Afghanistan and around it".

"It depends on the United States and Pakistan which should stop encouraging the forces which favour a military solution to the issue.

"It depends on the armed opposition which should try to display a rational thinking and to think of the destiny of their own people.

"It depends on the present government in Kabul. But it does everything for a new power structure to be created in the country through negotiations, contacts, and a search for fair balanced solutions.

"It depends on Afghan political forces which are inside and outside the country and which should make their contribution to a constructive solution to the problem.

"It depends on the United Nations Organisations, its leadership, its representatives on local level the role of whom undoubtedly grows.

"It depends on other international organisations and associations which should redouble efforts to give humanitarian economic aid to that country.

"It depends on the international public opinion which should support with greater unanimity the line towards a settlement, and not towards a continuation of the sanguinary conflict".

'Special Messages' Sent

LD1702144289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1413 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Feb (TASS)—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, declared at a news conference today that on Thursday [16 Feb] the Soviet leadership sent special messages to the leaders of a number of leading countries who might play a definite part in stabilizing the situation around Afghanistan. He stressed that these special messages contained an appeal for the provision of humanitarian and economic aid to the region in order to stabilize the situation.

Among the addressees, the first deputy minister named the leaders of France, Britain, the FRG, and Italy. Messages have also been sent to the leadership of Iran, Pakistan, and China, and special appeals [obrashcheniya] have been sent to the UN secretary general, the leadership of the Nonaligned Movement, the Islamic

Conference Organization, the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League, ASEAN, and the European Community. Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a separate message to President Bush.

"We consider," Aleksandr Bessmertnykh said, "that all countries must now respond to the opportunity arising to put an end to this protracted conflict by channeling it toward a complete and rapid settlement, and the restoration of Afghanistan as a flourishing, strong, durable, independent, neutral, and nonaligned state."

Vietnam Parallel Rejected

LD1702155589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1515 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Feb (TASS)—USSR First Deputy Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh has called the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan "a unique event of a military-political character." This step has shown that for the Soviet leadership "words do not differ from action—the USSR, having made a commitment before world public opinion, has fulfilled it."

People in the Soviet Union are convinced that more bloodshed in Afghanistan is unnecessary and can be avoided. "Those who are making plans to continue the fratricidal war, are committing a crime against the Afghan people," he said. "Afghans of sound mind have extended the hand of peace and have expressed readiness to accept compromises. The Kabul government is renouncing a monopoly on power and, displaying political generosity, is prepared to accept distribution of power among all the conflicting groupings."

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh drew attention to the fact that plans are, as before, being examined in Islamabad for the creation of a so-called Pakistan-Afghan confederation, which may lead to a weakening of Afghanistan, and to its being swallowed up.

The Soviet diplomat noted that those forces in the United States that are advocating continuation of arms supplies to the forces of the Afghan opposition are relying on victory for one faction or grouping in Afghanistan. This conflicts with Washington's statements of its adherence to the idea of independence, sovereignty, and self-determination for Afghanistan. Aleksandr Bessmertnykh positively assessed the statement made by U.S. President George Bush yesterday to the effect that it is necessary to combine the efforts of different states for normalization of the situation in Afghanistan.

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh stressed the important role played by the world public in the formulation and signing of the Geneva agreements and in monitoring how this important international agreement is being fulfilled. He singled out in particular the UN humanitarian economic assistance to Afghanistan for which a special commission was established in the world community. "This field of the UN work should be seriously intensified."

Another participant in the press conference, General Valeriy Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of ground forces, stressed that "there can be no parallel between the stay of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and the U.S. troops in Vietnam." Answering the question he said that "no one invited the Americans to Vietnam, but the Soviet troops found themselves in Afghanistan after repeated requests from the Afghan Government." If in Vietnam the actions of the U.S. troops were aimed at the division of the country, in Afghanistan the Soviet troops were engaged in the defense of sovereign Afghanistan against external aggression. "The Americans fled Vietnam at that time; we did not dump anything, but we were withdrawing our troops in keeping with the established timetable, having handed all material valuables to the Afghan people," Gen Varennikov said.

Bush Cited on Afghanistan, Contra Aid, FRG Stance

PM1702191789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "G. Bush Press Conference. U.S. President Advocates Continuation of Arms Shipments to Afghan Opposition and 'Humanitarian' Aid to Nicaraguan Contras"]

[Text] Washington, 17 Feb—U.S. President George Bush has held an informal unannounced press conference in the White House Oval Office for a group of American journalists.

The President welcomed the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, but he hinted that the United States does not intend to end military aid to armed formations of the Afghan opposition. "The United States," he stated, "supports the efforts of the Afghans to set up a stable, broad-based government responsive to the Afghan people's needs." G. Bush stressed U.S. intentions to give humanitarian aid to Afghanistan and to promote UN efforts to rebuild that country's economy.

With regard to the situation in Afghanistan, the President noted: "I do not think that a bloodbath is in anyone's interests." However, when he was asked to comment on the Soviet Union's proposal for an immediate cease-fire between warring Afghan groups and a simultaneous ending of arms shipments to Afghanistan by all countries—including the USSR and the United States—the head of the Washington administration stated: "We will do everything necessary to achieve a peaceful settlement of this issue and ensure that neither side gains the upper hand militarily, and we will encourage reconciliation."

In justification of this stance, which in practice means the continuation of military shipments to the Afghan opposition, Bush cited the "complicating factor" of the Afghan Army's "colossal stockpiles of deadly weaponry." Over the past few months official U.S. spokesmen

have repeatedly stated that the United States will continue military shipments to Afghan opposition groupings based in Pakistan for as long as the Soviet Union gives military aid to the Afghan Government. Bush's "justification" is a new pretext used by Washington to justify the policy of supplying arms and munitions to the Afghan opposition, which makes no secret of its intentions to attempt to seize power in Kabul by force of arms. Under the current difficult conditions such a stance is essentially tantamount to open encouragement by the United States of the Afghan opposition's arrogant aspirations.

The head of the administration denied that the new agreement concluded this week by the presidents of five Central American countries aimed at normalizing the situation in the region had caught Washington officials napping. As he put it, these accords have both "positive elements" and "alarming" elements. Bush stated that the United States must be "cautious" about this agreement and not leave the Nicaraguan Contras "in isolation." However, he did not elaborate on which specific foreign policy actions the Washington administration is planning to take to simplify the quest for a peaceful settlement in Central America, recalling that the administration is continuing to analyze all U.S. foreign policy. Nonetheless, the President stressed his intention to strive for the continuation of "humanitarian aid" to the Contras.

G. Bush avoided making any direct comment on the position of the FRG Government, which considers it necessary to postpone modernization of NATO's tactical nuclear missiles. The President stated that he first wanted to hear from U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who returns from a tour of the NATO countries this week. However, the head of the administration refuted U.S. press reports that there are "major differences" between the United States and the FRG on this issue.

NATO 'Secret' Forecast on Economy Cited

PM1702114589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[From "Frank Dialogue" feature in which readers' letters are answered by B. Averchenko, P. Bogomolov, V. Gorlenko, A. Krushinskiy, A. Lopukhin, V. Chernyshev, and V. Shurygin: "Secret Report"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] A few days ago I heard a foreign radio say that one of NATO's prominent figures had delivered a secret report on the Soviet economy's prospects over the next 20 years. It is odd—a secret report and yet some figures were cited from it. What is this—a Western "forgery?"

N. Dmitriyev (Voronezh).

Indeed, Henning Wegener, the NATO secretary general's assistant for political questions, did give such a report in Reykjavik which set out NATO forecasts relating to the

USSR's economic potential for the next 20 years. The only thing that is known about the report's content is what was communicated by the NORSE TELEGRAMBYRAA.

H. Wegener said that Western experts exclude the possibility of significant economic growth in the USSR in the immediate years to come. By itself the USSR can achieve an annual increase in industrial and agricultural production of not more than 2 percent. The East-West gap in the level of economic development over about 20 years will increase, and its narrowing is possible only in the next century.

In the opinion of Western experts, H. Wegener continued, the basic prerequisites for economic growth in the Soviet Union are the continuation of M.S. Gorbachev as leader, the continuation of his reforms, the increase of income from exports, the absence of major disturbances on ethnic grounds, and favorable weather conditions for agriculture, as well. The Soviet Union has no other choice: The system's shortcomings are so obvious that it will be forced to continue the reforms. Its opportunities to utilize national income for military needs will also be significantly reduced.

H. Wegener believes that there will be a gradual rapprochement between the USSR and West Europe on the basis of the market economy, but he calls upon the West to refrain from giving significant assistance to the Soviet Union.

As we can see, the fact that the report was delivered is not a "forgery." As concerns prognoses, we shall leave this to the conscience of the authors of the study.

Western Europe Supporting 'Peace' Initiatives

LD1602044089 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT
15 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko:

With all the multifariousness and contradictoriness of the world today, the concept that progress in the present epoch should be based on human interest is gaining the ground ever more confidently.

Characteristic in this connection are several reports from Madrid which show great interest in the West in the peace initiatives of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. Participants in a meeting of foreign ministers of the EEC countries held in the Spanish capital confirmed the general course of the European Community at the continuation of political and economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries.

Spanish Prime Minister and President of the Council of Ministers Felipe Gonzalez addressed the Congress of Deputies of the Cortes Generales (parliament). He emphasized that changes being made in the Soviet Union and a number of other Warsaw Treaty countries

constitute an element of prime importance in the new international situation. The head of the Spanish Government declared for the creation of Europe transcending ideological and political boundaries.

This is the manifestation of the care for the future of Europe close to the idea of the "common European home" which finds ever more supporters and leads to active quest for the truly protected and guaranteed coexistence of European peoples on the basis of reasonable norms.

One would certainly like to paint the future of Europe in rosy colours, but this time has not yet come. Here are several others, less optimistic reports.

The French Government endorsed the plans for the biggest widening of military ties of France with NATO over the past 20 years, the newspaper THE TIMES reports.

U.S. Secretary of State Baker met with leaders of NATO countries, meanwhile U.S. troops are conducting military exercises on FRG lands, the U.S. television network ABC reports from Bonn. Some soldiers wear a Soviet uniform. The U.S. Army in Western Europe is still being trained in such a way as if war can start any time.

Something is happening in the USSR, but it is yet too early to make conclusive judgements. Much caution should be shown, Henry Kissinger said in an interview to EPOCA.

Well, let those who have doubts or who are against the changes of the world political climate for a better show caution, but new thinking continues gaining scope and momentum. The times when socio-political differences among states were an insurmountable obstacle are passing. There is now a real possibility to bring into play the factor of mutual advantage and mutual attraction.

Release of POW's in Afghanistan Sought
LD1702132489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 17 Feb 89

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Andrey Ptashnikov, all-union radio foreign political commentator; with commentator Vladimir Fadeyev, commentator Boris Andrianov, and Sergey Pravdin, not further identified]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Ptashnikov] You know, when I was familiarizing myself with our program's mailbag, I noticed that we have quite a few letters about the fate of our prisoners in the hands of the [Afghan] armed opposition. For example, Valentina Ivanovna

Melnikova from Balashikha near Moscow and listeners from the Bogucharskiy Rayon, Voronezh Oblast, write about it. However, this letter is, unfortunately, unsigned for some reason. Well, these letters ask the radio to describe on a daily basis work aimed at freeing our boys held captive.

[Fadeyev] Well, you know Andrey, there is not all that much that you can describe on a daily basis. The question of freeing our boys is one that is being raised constantly and on all levels, beginning with the government level, through the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Society, and ending with talks with the opposition leaders through intermediaries.

It has also been discussed repeatedly by Comrade Votontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Afghanistan, during his meetings in Islamabad, both with the Pakistani leadership and representatives of the opposition in Saudi Arabia. You do remember that there was such a meeting?

[Ptashnikov] Yes.

[Fadeyev] Well then, the counterproposals the opposition puts forward are not always acceptable to our country, to its political and state interests. Nonetheless, I reiterate, this work is being carried out unceasingly and everything will be done so that our boys return home. However, we must not think that this matter is a simple one or that it is being held up by someone not being quick-witted or smart enough. After all, to give an example, the Pakistani Government states that it does not know exactly where our captured soldiers are. Nonetheless, it has stated that it will facilitate the resolution of this matter in every way, naturally given that it has essential information at hand. But how is one to gain such information? Think for yourselves, comrades, is that a simple matter?

But do refrain in your letters from suggesting to us ways borrowed from your own imagination or from detective stories or films. I know that our diplomats, international organizations, and specially set up public committees are working on this. We wish them success in their difficult work. Let us hope that the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan also represents a kind of contribution to this sacred cause.

[Ptashnikov] Thank you. To what you have said I merely wish to add an item received from Rawalpindi, a town in Pakistan. Representatives of various Afghan opposition groups decided at a consultative council meeting, or shura as it is also known, held in that town to set up a so-called transitional government of Afghanistan. That is how events are now developing. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

U.S. To Continue Support for Afghan Rebels

Bush on Afghan Army 'Stockpiles'

PM1702150389 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

[TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev dispatch:
"Washington's Position"]

[Text] Washington, 17 Feb—U.S. President George Bush held an informal, unannounced news conference Thursday in the White House Oval Office for a group of American journalists.

The President welcomed the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan but hinted that the United States does not intend to end military aid to armed formations of the Afghan opposition. "The United States," he stated, "supports the Afghans' efforts to set up a stable, broad-based government responsive to the Afghan people's needs." G. Bush stressed U.S. intentions to give humanitarian aid to Afghanistan and to promote UN efforts to rebuild that country's economy.

With regard to the situation in Afghanistan, the President noted: "I do not think that a bloodbath is in anyone's interests." However, when asked to comment on the Soviet Union's proposal for an immediate cease-fire between warring Afghan groupings and a simultaneous ending of arms shipments to Afghanistan by all countries—including the USSR and the United States—the head of the Washington administration stated: "We will do everything necessary to achieve a peaceful settlement of this issue and ensure that neither side gains the upper hand militarily, and we will encourage reconciliation."

In justification of this stance, which in practice means the continuation of military shipments to the Afghan opposition, Bush cited the "complicating factor" of the Afghan Army's "colossal stockpiles of deadly weaponry." Over the past few months official U.S. spokesmen have repeatedly stated that the United States will continue military shipments to Afghan opposition groupings based in Pakistan for as long as the Soviet Union gives military aid to the Afghan Government.

Fitzwater Notes Gorbachev Message

LD1802093489 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT
18 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said during his conversation with journalists on Friday that the United States was not going to stop arms deliveries to opposition Afghan groups despite the Soviet Union's proposal to work for immediate ceasefire and the termination of military aid to Afghanistan by all the countries, including the USSR and the U.S.

Fitzwater repeated the explanation of the U.S. stand given by President Bush on Thursday. He said that the problem of arms and munitions reserves possessed by the Afghan Army called for the continuation by the U.S. of a positive symmetry policy. He stated that the U.S. would continue to supply the needs of mujahidin as long as the Soviet Union continued to supply the needs of the Kabul government.

A senior official of the U.S. Administration who spoke on conditions of anonymity told journalists who accompanied U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in his tour of NATO countries that U.S. arms deliveries to Afghan opposition groups would have been continued even if the Soviet Union stopped supporting the Kabul government, the AP news agency reports. Barry Schweid, AP diplomatic observer, pointed out that the statement seemed to be reflecting a turn in the U.S. policy and a tougher stand on Afghanistan. Besides, this turn shows the insincerity of the statements coming from Washington to the effect that the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is the core of the Afghan problem.

Marlin Fitzwater, White House press secretary, reaffirmed that Mikhail Gorbachev's message had been handed in to George Bush on February 17. He refused to elaborate or comment on its content, only said that the situation in Afghanistan was the sole problem mentioned in it. Fitzwater is positive that an answer will be given to the message.

Baker Comments on Military Aid

LD2002131989 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT
20 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 20 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker 3d gave his first interview after returning to the United States from a week-long visit to Europe.

In the interview, with the NBC TV network on Sunday, Baker said the U.S. will continue to supply arms to the Afghan rebels, despite the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Asked if the United States intended to stop supplying rebels with weapons, after the Soviet pull-out of Afghanistan, Baker said: "In our view we need to do what we can to see that they (Afghans) have an opportunity for self-determination."

Baker reiterated Washington's claims that rebel military aid could not be stopped because the Afghan Government has stocks of Soviet military equipment.

Baker Takes No 'New Ideas' on European Tour

PM2002152589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "Baker's European Debut"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker has returned from a tour that the U.S. press sees as a kind of record. In the space of 8 days he visited Canada and 14 European countries, covering a distance of 15,800 miles by air.

The official goal of the visit was for Baker to familiarize himself with the NATO leaderships and to hold consultations with fellow foreign ministers, particularly on issues currently at the center of world public attention—"East-West relations."

Incidentally, the whirlwind tour of Europe gave Baker little time for detailed talks—he gave some of his interlocutors just 20 minutes of his time, and even the most important talks did not last more than 90 minutes.

In the opinion of the journalists accompanying Baker, the new leader of U.S. diplomacy displayed his innate energy and attention to his interlocutors. However, there was a pointed absence of the third element needed for productive discussions—new ideas.

In a number of European capitals, above all Bonn, Baker devoted his energy to pushing for the previously mooted plan to modernize NATO's tactical nuclear missiles. His approach differed from the position of his hosts FRG Chancellor H. Kohl and Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher. THE WASHINGTON POST noted that "Chancellor Kohl, who usually makes every effort to avoid disputes with the United States, publicly disagreed with the U.S. position on the need to modernize NATO's Lance short-range nuclear missiles." In the opinion of H. Kohl and H.-D. Genscher, the resolution of this issue should not be rushed at a time when an important dialogue on arms reduction is under way between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

On the question of greatest concern to Europeans—the ending of the arms race—Baker put forward no specific proposals. U.S. newspapers note that Washington simply does not have any to put forward. THE NEW YORK TIMES believes the new administration will need a few months to formulate its position at the arms reduction talks.

Nonetheless, it should not be said that Baker returned to Washington entirely empty-handed. The European opinions he brought back from the tour will be of use. "Baker has seen for himself that missile modernization is not a popular option when Gorbachev is announcing unilateral cuts," a commentator for the popular CNN noted.

Bogachev on U.S. Relations With NATO Allies
LD2002155188 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1440 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Feb—TASS observer on military affairs Vladimir Bogachev writes:

The new U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, during his recent talks in the capitals of the NATO countries, repeatedly stressed his willingness to take into account the problems of the allies. However, on concluding his "familiarization visit," he expressed the firm conviction that as early as May this year, Washington would secure

their agreement to modernize U.S. nuclear weapons on the territory of Western Europe despite the growing opposition to these plans in the FRG and other states of the alliance.

The impression is being created that Baker is simply conducting himself with his European allies in a more delicate manner than some of his predecessors in the post of U.S. secretary of state. However, in terms of the basic military policy problems of NATO, including the issue of modernizing nuclear weapons, Washington's position remains virtually unchanged. Only the ways of achieving the former goals have changed.

According to reports by the American INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, the United States and Britain have already called on their NATO allies to unilaterally develop new missiles and artillery to replace the "Lance" missiles. It is also reported that the United States itself, without waiting for a decision by the NATO allies, has already begun the unilateral development of a new tactical missile with a much greater range and accuracy than "Lance."

Washington's plan clearly consists of creating new missiles—without making a lot of noise—and presenting its intransigent allies with a fait accompli, and then forcing the FRG and other countries to agree to the deployment of these nuclear systems on their territory, referring to the vague NATO decision on the modernization of nuclear armaments adopted by the alliance as long ago as 1983 in the Canadian town of Montebello. This is, of course, in the event of the FRG Government continuing to advocate a delay in the modernization of nuclear missiles. Such modernization is currently supported by only 10 percent of the West German electorate.

Unlike past practice, Washington is now promising the West Germans certain concessions in exchange for the FRG's agreement to site the new missiles. In particular, the United States is offering to remove certain obsolete nuclear artillery systems from this country's territory. During his visit to Western Europe, Baker also hinted at the possibility of holding talks with the Soviet Union on cutting nuclear missiles with a range of up to 500 km.

There are other innovations in the United States' relations with its NATO allies. Washington is clearly now entrusting the main spadework in talking with the West Germans, who are resisting nuclear rearmament, to Margaret Thatcher. It is precisely with this aim, in view of the London GUARDIAN, that the head of the British Government has set off for Bonn today.

No 'Turnaround' Seen in USSR-U.S. Ties
PM2002191589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Political Observer's Notes":
"Casting Off the Burden of the Past"]

[Text] It has been a month since the new U.S. President officially took office. He has not even had time to get his whole "team" together yet. Nevertheless, new Secretary

of State J. Baker has already made his first tour of West European countries, which offers an opportunity to start making assumptions—highly provisional ones, of course—about the future trends, above all on the foreign policy course.

Public attention is focused, of course, on the most topical issue—Soviet-U.S. relations. The new Washington administration has inherited a very positive record in this sphere. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is being successfully implemented; the schedule for the destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is being met and in some cases the process is ahead of schedule. There are real prerequisites for progress at the Soviet-U.S. talks on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments.

A long-term program is being elaborated for the joint training of managerial staff and specialists for the two countries' commercial enterprises, envisaging the holding of seminars, sabbaticals by scientists and practical experts, and so forth. The new mood in Soviet-U.S. relations is evidenced by the fact that an agreement has been reached in principle that the U.S. military academy at West Point will open its doors, for a short period initially, to students from Soviet military academies, and West Point will have the opportunity, on an exchange basis, to send a group of students to one of our military academies. There will be wider exchanges in the spheres of culture, science, education, and so on. Even in congressional circles, which are not exactly known for their affection for the USSR, there is a growing desire to remove the artificial barriers erected during the cold war to the normal development of Soviet-U.S. trade.

Writing in *THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE*, former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR G. Kennan notes: It is now a matter of taking advantage of the favorable opportunities for easing military tension and improving the atmosphere of East-West relations as a whole which have emerged as a result of Gorbachev's initiatives. However, the venerable former diplomat states with regret, "our side's responses to these initiatives have been mainly grudging, diffident, and sometimes downright rude. These responses have caused many people all over the world to wonder whether we have in fact any interest at all in arms control." Innovation is what is required of the U.S. Government—this is Kennan's conclusion.

Many analysts of U.S. foreign policy noted with a degree of anxiety that it is premature to talk of a turnaround in Soviet-American relations: There has been improvement, but a decisive change has not yet occurred.

In a recent interview for *THE WALL STREET JOURNAL*, G. Bush mentioned the confidence he had expressed about the existence of vast new opportunities in Soviet-U.S. relations. "I still think that way," the President said. But the press pointed out that in his policy speech on Capitol Hill Bush announced: In view

of the financial circumstances, in fiscal 1990 the Pentagon will have to confine itself to "zero growth," which sets the military expenditure ceiling at around \$300 billion. But he then added that the measure is limited to one year only, "in light of the acute need to reduce the deficit." "After that," the President said, "increases will be needed."

Some U.S. newspapers present the situation in such a way as to indicate that the current administration has been turned by the previous administration into a hostage of the colossal military programs imposed by the Pentagon. In the face of the colossal budget deficit, caused above all by the arms race, it would seem most sensible to keep military appropriations below the \$300 billion mark. However, it has to be noted that it is intended to put an end even to this slight trend toward a reduction of expenditure for war preparations.

Efforts continue in Washington to find a way to modify the "Star Wars" program, which has run into opposition from scientists and the American public. According to the journal *AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY*, the Pentagon intends to spend more than \$46 billion on the SDI program by fiscal 1994, in addition to the \$15 billion it has already cost the taxpayer. Furthermore, \$300 million is to be spent on this program annually from the budget of the U.S. Department of Energy.

J. Baker's diplomatic "blitzkrieg" in West Europe has attracted the attention of the European and international public. The new U.S. secretary of state was not just "making his debut." Judging by appearances, his main aim was to galvanize the NATO allies into action.

It seems especially significant to me that this "operation" was undertaken on the eve of the upcoming talks in Vienna on conventional arms and armed forces in Europe, because of which certain champions of the arms race are seeking loopholes. They are now concentrating their efforts not just on preserving tactical nuclear weapons in Europe at any price, but on modernizing them, having declared the short-range "Lance" missiles obsolete. In actual fact it is a question of the deployment as soon as possible of a new type of arms capable of delivering nuclear warheads. *THE WASHINGTON POST* quotes Baker's words that the NATO leaders' meeting in Brussels will be the latest deadline for adopting a decision on this question.

However, judging by reports in many West European press organs, the pressure from Washington has met with resistance not only from Norway, Denmark, and a number of other small countries, but also from the FRG. People in Bonn cannot ignore the fact that submitting to Washington's diktat in this question would create considerable difficulties for Bonn politicians. It is obviously necessary to bear in mind that 80 percent of FRG inhabitants perceive no military threat from Moscow, and 79 percent favor a nuclear-free Europe.

Even in Washington governmental circles the understanding has emerged that the times demand categorically that the burden of the past be cast off and the positive changes of the last 3 years be consolidated. Even J. Baker has mentioned this. The U.S. secretary of state has contributed an article to the latest edition of TIME magazine in which he declares that "he is not one of those who believe that we ought to hope for a failure (of the policy of restructuring—V.K.), and that in some way this failure will weaken the USSR and play into the hands of the United States."

The Soviet people will make sure that the policy of restructuring is crowned with success and produces beneficial results. We would like to believe sensible circles in the West will not waste the opportunity that has emerged and will utilize the favorable situation which is taking shape in the interests of ridding mankind from the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

New U.S. Satellite To Spot Missile Launches
*LD1902173389 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT
19 Feb 89*

[Text] New York February 19 TASS—The new U.S.A.F. space rocket Titan-4 will put into orbit a reconnaissance satellite of a new generation during its first flight next March. According to the journal AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY which is close to the Pentagon, the spy satellite weighing over 2,300 kg is designed to spot actual launchings of enemy missiles. Equipped with an infrared telescope, the satellite will be also used for monitoring of launchings of missiles for test military and civil purposes, which are made in the Soviet Union and China, as well as flights of warplanes of the two countries. The satellite is equipped with a special system protecting it from the beam of a land-based laser plant.

The weekly reports that it is planned to put into orbit nine such spy satellites of the third generation in the next few years. Each of them costs 180 million dollars.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev, Japan's Kuriyama Discuss Peace Treaty
*LD2102083189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0730 GMT 21 Feb 89*

[Text] Tokyo, 21 Feb (TASS)—A meeting was held in Tokyo today between Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Takakazu Kuriyama, Japan's administrative vice minister of foreign affairs. They exchanged views on the forthcoming March foreign ministry consultations to be held at the deputy minister level, and the peace treaty working group session. They agreed on a package of measures connected with the conclusion of a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan being discussed within the framework of the working group.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodian Beam Reports on 2d Jakarta Conference

Prospects for Settlement Viewed
*BK1902144289 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1100 GMT 19 Feb 89*

[Text] The second informal meeting on the Cambodian issue opens in Jakarta on 19 February. First of all, we would like to recall the search made last summer for measures to settle the conflict—namely, the first informal meeting held in Bogor in July last year.

In this city of Indonesia, representatives from the PRK, three other warring Cambodian groups, Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries sat at the negotiating table to discuss many issues as follows:

The important issues for the solution are the withdrawal of the Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia, a guarantee that the genocidal policy will not be renewed, and the cessation of all interference in Cambodia's internal affairs.

What are the attitudes of all factions prior to this new meeting? Our correspondent in Jakarta reported that, as before, the opposition groups insisted on the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops despite the fact that this matter has already been made clear. The Cambodian and Vietnamese governments have announced that all Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia at the end of September at the latest if there is a political solution. This means that the troop withdrawal must go side-by-side with the ceasefire and the cessation of foreign military aid to all factions involved in the conflict in Cambodia. Hanoi and Phnom Penh have emphasized that implementation of the agreement must be carried out under an effective international mechanism.

This is the first, most necessary measure for ensuring the solution. However, there are other measures as well. As Comrade Nguyen Co Thach stated a few days ago, the second planned measure is aimed primarily at settling the external aspects of the Cambodian problem. Another measure is that in case there is no political solution, all Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia by the end of 1990.

According to the Vietnamese foreign minister, the second measure is [words indistinct].

How about the opposition groups? Prior to the Jakarta meeting they have proposed a draft five-point plan for the settlement of the Cambodian problem. This draft is based on the demand that the PRK be dismantled to form a provisional coalition government prior to general elections. This demand was rejected by the Cambodian leaders.

We should also recall Cambodia's attitude, which is that no one has the right to force the Cambodian people to accept any government without a free and general election to be held under international supervision. This is in connection with the national reconciliation council to be headed by Samdech Sihanouk that is responsible for the agreement to be reached among the various Cambodian factions.

The existing different views show that the Jakarta meeting is not an easy one. However, it is hoped that all Cambodian factions will be able to seek a compromise with discretion, a compromise that might help solve the Cambodian problem.

Ends Without Bringing Sides Closer

*BK2102120489 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1100 GMT 21 Feb 89*

[Text] The second Jakarta informal meeting on the Cambodian problem ended today in Jakarta. Many news agencies reported that those taking part in the meeting failed to bring their attitudes closer together. There are still differences concerning the Vietnamese volunteer troop pullout from Cambodia and the end of foreign assistance to conflicting Cambodian groups.

Taking part in this second informal meeting were the delegation of the PRK, delegations from the other three opposing Cambodian groups, and delegations from Vietnam, Laos, and ASEAN members.

The governments of Cambodia and Vietnam expressed a constructive attitude on solving the problem by promising to withdraw all Vietnamese troops before the end of September.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Visits Syria, Meets Leaders

Denies Decreased Interest in Region

*LD1702210389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 17 Feb 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Shevardnadze arrived in Damascus today. [video shows streets of Damascus, followed by Shevardnadze seated on a sofa answering journalists questions]

[Seyful-Mulyukov; identified by caption] The Soviet guest was met at the Damascus Airport by Faruq al-Shar', the foreign minister of the Syrian Arab Republic, and other officials. Our close ties are bonded by a friendship and cooperation treaty. New impetus is being given to them by the meetings between Soviet and Syrian politicians. They enable a dialogue to be held on major international and regional problems.

[Begin recording] [Shevardnadze] These ways of our traditional cooperation have brought us to your beautiful capital, your beautiful city, your country. This year is a special one. It will mark the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Syria. Over these years enormous experience has been accumulated in the multifaceted cooperation between our countries. Soviet-Syrian cooperation is built on the reliable foundation of friendship and mutual understanding. This circumstance, this reliable foundation of our cooperation, enables us to look at the future with confidence. So there are things to discuss from the point of view of the path we have taken, which gives meaning to our future tasks.

I am instructed to pass on an official message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, the president of Syria. Undoubtedly we will be discussing topical problems relating to bilateral cooperation. We will try to cover the whole range: the situation in the Middle East—this is probably the central problem and the central topic subject to discussion—and ways of settling other regional conflicts. [video shows two brief shots of Syria's foreign minister]

I would like to say we attach special importance to problems relating to a Middle Eastern settlement and the dialogue with our Syrian friends on this problem, since we considered and consider that Syria, the state of Syria, occupies a key position, a key position, in this problem just as in other regional questions. [video shows crowd of journalists]

[Unidentified correspondent] I am from the Vremya program. Your visit to Syria is the first stage of your trip to the Middle East. Claims have recently appeared in the Western press, and in the Arab press too, that Soviet interest in the problems of this region has decreased. What could you say on this subject?

[Shevardnadze] Our interest has not decreased. This has not happened. Perhaps, speaking in terms of the principles of the new political thinking, so to speak—and this implies elements of self-criticism—we feel that what is required is raising the level of activity. We believe that more favorable conditions than ever before have arisen for a settlement in the Middle East. This problem is most complex, however. Everyone understands this, and we will have a very serious discussion about these problems. [end recording]

[Announcer] Also today, talks started in Damascus between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Faruq al-Shar'. [video shows Shevardnadze alone, and then seated at a table in the company of several people] Other officials from the two countries are also taking part in the talks.

Holds Talks With Al-Asad

PM1902192789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 February 1989 Second Edition p 4

["E.A. Shevardnadze's Talk With Syrian President"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Damascus February 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, now staying here on an official visit had a meeting with Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic. Shevardnadze handed over to Hafiz al-Asad a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership and people, Shevardnadze expressed deep gratitude to the Syrian leadership and people for compassion and relief aid in connection with the devastating quake that hit Soviet Armenia.

Major problems of world politics, specifically questions of the Middle East settlement were discussed during the conversation that had a comradely and trusting nature. The sides confirmed the mutual striving for a further deepening of Soviet-Syrian relations built on a durable basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the Syrian Arab Republic.

Basing on the provisions contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the United Nations, Shevardnadze substantiated the conclusion that the philosophy of a nuclear weapons free and non-violent world, transition from confrontation to a dialogue meet the vital interests of all the countries without exception. In this context he emphasized the importance of asserting as a universal principle in international relations the freedom of choice, equal right of all states to security and participation in the solution of problems common to humanity.

Hafiz al-Asad spoke highly of a complex of peace initiatives advanced by Gorbachev. He went along with the idea that it is now important to pool the efforts of all countries to make positive tendencies in the world irreversible.

A substantive exchange of opinions on the Middle East situation was held. Shevardnadze set out the Soviet leadership's view on it. The overall process of the improvement of international relations, the easing of tension and the lessening of the threat of war creates favourable conditions for a breakthrough in the Middle East settlement. There is a broad awareness that this can be achieved by collective efforts at an international conference on the Middle East. In this connection it is necessary to step up actions to prepare such a conference using the possibilities of the UN Security Council, other forms of dialogue and contacts among the parties concerned.

Hafiz al-Asad confirmed Syria's stand in favour of a comprehensive and fair Middle East settlement that would lead to the establishment of durable peace in the region. He declared in principle for the intensification of international efforts to achieve a real advance to this.

The participants in the conversation noted that the consolidation of Arab interaction is an important factor of ensuring an equitable Middle East settlement. Hafiz al-Asad spoke about the steps taken by Syria to overcome differences among Arabs. The Soviet side emphasized the importance of restoring cooperation between Syria and the PLO and improving Syrian-Iraqi and Syrian-Egyptian relations.

When the crisis situation in Lebanon was discussed, the sides expressed the conviction about the need to preserve unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon through a dialogue and national reconciliation.

Questions of Soviet-Syrian bilateral cooperation in various areas were extensively discussed. The sides emphasized the mutual interest and wish to ensure its further development and upgrading through broad use of contemporary forms and methods of the organisation of commercial, economic, scientific and technological ties.

Hafiz al-Asad confirmed the invitation to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for an official friendly visit to Syria.

Meets With Khaddam, Al-Shar'

PM1902185189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 February 1989 First Edition p 5

["Meetings in Damascus"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Damascus February 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, on an official visit here, met on Saturday with 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, member of the leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and vice-president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

They had a specific [predmetnyy] talk about the ways of an early solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, preparation and convocation of an international conference on the Middle East.

Shevardnadze set out the views of the Soviet side on the essence and contents of the preparatory stage for the convocation of a conference which were met with understanding.

Questions of Soviet-Syrian cooperation and some international problems of mutual interest were discussed.

The conversation passed in a warm comradely atmosphere.

On the same day Shevardnadze had talks with Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'. The situation in the world was surveyed.

Shevardnadze noted that with all the persisting contradictions, the tendency for mutual understanding and cooperation is crowding out the confrontational policies. This gives reason to believe that humanity is entering a peaceful period which is reflected in the development of the process of the reduction of armaments and military expenditures, in the readiness of an ever greater number of states to promote the lowering of international tension. In this connection the Soviet minister welcomed Syria's decision to join in the negotiations on banning chemical weapons as an observer.

Faruq al-Shar' positively assessed the transformations taking place in the world and emphasized the Soviet Union's merit in this.

Deploring the fact that because of Israel's obstructionist stand the Middle East situation does not yet conform to the tendency toward the easing of tension, the ministers held a thorough [obstoyatelnyy] talk about the ways of Middle East settlement.

Shevardnadze set out the Soviet Union's stand regarding the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East and its preparation, the role of the United Nations Security Council in this, other forms of dialogue and contacts among the parties concerned.

Faruq al-Shar' declared in support of the holding of an international conference and its preparation by collective effort.

The ministers spoke positively about the idea of a meeting of five Arab sides—Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and the PLO—to discuss questions of Middle East settlement. The meeting could play an important role in consolidating Arab unity.

There was an exchange of opinions on questions connected with the situation in Lebanon. The sides proclaimed their intentions to promote the establishment of peace and tranquility in Lebanon.

When Soviet-Syrian relations were discussed, the ministers expressed satisfaction with a high level of political ties between the two countries and noted that the dynamism of contemporary world politics requires the intensification of political contacts, a deep joint analysis of the question of Middle East settlement and other acute international problems, also along the lines of foreign ministries.

Though Soviet-Syrian economic cooperation has considerable scopes there are quite a few problems in it. The existing potential is not tapped fully. New forms of ties are introduced slowly. All this needs to be thoroughly analysed by appropriate bodies of the two countries, the ministers stated.

The ministers noted the usefulness of their discussions which were held in the atmosphere of friendly frankness [otkrovennost].

Gives Dinner Speech

LD1902101989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0114 GMT 19 Feb 89

["Speech by Shevardnadze at Dinner in Damascus on 18 February 1989"—TASS headline]

[Text] Damascus, 19 Feb (TASS)— Esteemed Comrade Minister.

Friends,

In recent months we have been asked increasingly frequently, at home and abroad, whether we intended to visit the Near East.

Something very important and significant for people and the world is reflected in the persistence with which we are asked this question and the interest being shown in our Near East tour.

This shows, first of all, growing understanding of the fact that the Near East is close to one and all through its troubles and problems, and that universal peace and security depend largely on the Near East situation.

This also demonstrates the confidence which is growing stronger everywhere that in present-day conditions, the means for untying the tightest knots that have been cutting off the normal "blood circulation" in the region for so many decades not only should but can now be found.

This is finally evidence of that fact that the new political thinking, which many associate with the Soviet Union, is being transferred by many to the Near East situation: Here, in their view, it should show its worth through the positive interaction of countries of the region and of the entire international community for the sake of successfully resolving chronic, painful problems.

We began our tour to the countries of the Near East with a visit to the Syrian Arab Republic, and this is logical.

Diplomatic relations between our countries are 45 years old this year.

For almost half of a century we have had a feeling of comradeship for each other and have strengthened and developed our friendly ties in every possible way.

An example of this is the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1980 and its consistent and purposeful implementation.

Another example is the Soviet-Syrian dialogue being conducted at the most diverse levels, including the conversations and talks between the senior leaders of our countries, as was the case in 1987 during the Moscow meeting between Comrades M.S. Gorbachev and Hafiz al-Asad.

In terms of the volume, substance, and quality of our cooperation, which embraces almost all spheres—from the economy and defense to culture and space research for peaceful purposes—Syria is the Soviet Union's leading partner in the Near East.

We would like to preserve this status.

The talks in Damascus have allowed us once again to take a close look at the prospects for our bilateral relations and to satisfy ourselves that the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic intend to develop and further improve them, enriching the existing links with new content. This applies both to political dialogue and trade and economic cooperation, where interesting and promising projects are taking shape.

Syria is an important, strong link in the Arab world, an influential and authoritative state in the Near East whose voice is heeded keenly and whose opinion is reckoned with.

We look at many things in the world and in the region in the same way. Mutual support, consultations, and the exchange of knowledge and information have become the norm in our relations. Joint actions in the name of a better present and future for peoples both in the region and throughout the world seem to us an even greater norm.

It is for this reason that we are here holding conversations about this. Everything that we see, hear, and sense here convinces us that the course we have chosen is the correct one.

We see how much peoples can give each other when they cooperate in the creation of a modern economy, the use of national resources, and the professional training of young people.

We see how much people are deprived of by war and hostility. The bitter memory of the past, embodied in the ruins of Kuneitra, echoes like a sharp pain today. But however unbearable it may be, it cannot but be overcome by concern for the future, which is concern for peace and not for war.

We see how different cultures, which stood in opposition in the past, have now merged into a single civilization, calling for the search for the path that should lead us to the supremacy of values common to all of mankind.

Unfortunately for all, the Near East is as yet far from this path. In terms of the concentration of weaponry, the region stands in third place behind NATO and the Warsaw Pact, but whereas these two blocs have already been touched by the trend toward disarmament, in the

Near East, on the contrary, we see an escalation of the arms race. Most saddening of all is that the new spirals are increasingly clearly threatening to spread to such means of mass destruction as nuclear and chemical weapons.

This not only does not coincide whatsoever with the overall picture of the movement toward a world free of nuclear weapons and agents of chemical warfare, and with a smaller quantity of weapons, but also threatens to distort it and to put gloomy and hopeless colors on the world panorama.

The present generation will have to fulfill an historic mission and lay the foundations for a secure future for all mankind. To bring this about, one must master the difficult art of living in peace and respect for one another while preserving one's national, political, spiritual, and religious values in all their diversity and originality. Movement toward this noble goal is only possible given the rejection of strong-arm approaches in politics and the transfer from confrontation to dialogue, from rivalry to codevelopment and the search for a balance of interests. Mankind has been given no other alternative. This relates to global as well as regional affairs. The reality of today's interdependent world is such that any flare-up in one region throws a worrisome atmosphere over our whole planet.

The new thinking is powerfully knocking at the door of the Near East, too. Through suffering, its peoples have achieved the right to a peaceful and safe life. It is time to build the bridges of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence in this region too.

Being realists, we understand that in order to do this it is necessary to overcome a good deal of difficulties and primarily to cut the knot of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The movement toward peace in the Near East is gaining momentum. One hopes that in Tel Aviv, too, they will finally understand that it is impossible to ensure their own security while suppressing the uprising of the Palestinian people and holding by force the West Bank, Gaza, Syria's Golan, and the south of Lebanon.

It is our deep conviction that favorable preconditions have now ripened for convening an international conference with the participation of all concerned parties, including the PLO as well as the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. This is the only real and reliable mechanism to ensure an all-embracing and fair settlement and the solution to the key Palestinian problem on the basis of a balance of interests of both the Arabs and Israel.

The moment is coming when it will be necessary to engage in serious preparations for this forum through joint efforts. We see such preparatory work in three chief dimensions. First, the mechanisms of the UN Security Council, which possesses great peace-making potential,

should be brought into play. We are also prepared for this issue to be examined at a special session of the council at the foreign ministry level.

Second, consultations between the five permanent members of the council, which, acting in contact with the direct participants in the conflict, would take on the functions of a preparatory body for the conference, should be stepped up.

Third, as the experience for settling other regional conflicts shows, the peace-making potential of the United Nations and its secretary general can also be brought into play to ensure other mutually acceptable and flexible forms of constructive interaction between those parties involved in the settlement.

It would be possible to introduce a "time limit" for the preparatory stage.

There can be no two views: A fair settlement cannot be achieved without having secured the unity of the Arab countries. We see that the problem of strengthening relations between the Arabs is worrying our Syrian friends and that they are making efforts to improve the atmosphere in the Arab world.

We welcome the idea of holding meetings between the representatives of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, and the PLO. It is important to strengthen the Syrian-Palestinian link as well.

As for Soviet-Syrian partnership, we are sure that it will continue to have a positive effect on the progress of events in the region.

This confidence is strengthened by the profound and thorough exchange of views that has taken place with President Hafiz al-Asad, Vice President Khaddam, and my colleague Al-Shar'.

The prospects are clear to us, and the landmarks have been clearly designated.

Allow me to wish Soviet-Syrian cooperation fresh successes, and happiness and good health to you, Comrade Minister, and to all those present.

Let there be peace in the Near East and throughout the world.

Statement on Visit Issued

LD2002124989 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT
20 February 89

[Text] Damascus February 19 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was staying in Syria on February 17-19 on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Syrian leadership.

The Soviet guest laid a wreath to the memorial of national heroes.

Shevardnadze was received by Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Renaissance party and president of Syria, to whom he handed a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

President Al-Asad expressed his gratitude for the message and conveyed greetings and good wishes to Gorbachev.

The Soviet Foreign Minister had a meeting with Vice President 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam.

Shevardnadze had talks with Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq Al-Shar'.

During the talks held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the sides discussed a wide range of international issues of mutual interest, and confirmed their desire to strengthen and develop multifaceted and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries in all fields of life.

They pointed to the great importance of the Soviet-Syrian summit in Moscow in April 1987, which set guidelines for the consolidation of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Syria.

Al-Asad confirmed his invitation to Gorbachev to pay an official friendly visit to Syria at a time to be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

The sides noted with satisfaction the successful development of all aspects of relations between the Soviet Union and Syria, based on the firm foundation of the treaty of friendship and cooperation of October 8, 1980.

They discussed extensively and with interest prospects for Soviet-Syrian relations from the viewpoint of imparting more dynamism to the many-sided Soviet-Syrian cooperation and strengthening mutual trust and fruitful interaction in all issues of mutual interest.

The participants in the talks were unanimous in holding that the consistent strengthening of Soviet-Syrian relations meets not only vital interests of the two nations but also serves the cause of peace, independence and social progress and is an important factor in efforts to achieve security and stability in the Middle East.

The sides welcomed the growing tendency toward the improvement of the political climate in the world and confirmed their desire to promote in every way its consolidation.

The Syrian side pointed to the historic significance of a large-scale programme for the fundamental restructuring of international relations, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43rd Session of the UN General Assembly.

The sides confirmed their readiness to coordinate efforts to build a nuclear-free and non-violent world, and called for stepping up efforts to solve a set of disarmament problems, above all in such major areas as the complete

elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and the renunciation of space militarisation and the production of new kinds of weapons of mass annihilation.

The Soviet side welcomed Syria's decision to join the talks on a chemical ban as an observer.

The Soviet Union and Syria consider the removal of seats of tension as a necessary condition for creating a comprehensive system of peace and international security.

They confirm the topicality of actions and dialogue with a view to finding acceptable solutions for the parties concerned.

The talks centered on the discussion of ways leading to lasting, just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. The sides expressed concern over the tension in the Middle East. The sides expressed concern over the tension which keeps on in the region and which has a negative effect not only on the Middle East situation but also on the international situation as a whole.

The sides strongly condemn Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories and demand that Israeli troops be withdrawn from all Arab lands captured since 1967 and that the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state in accordance with UN resolutions, be exercised. They also demand an immediate end to unlawful actions of Israeli authorities with regard to Arab civilian population. The sides express deep solidarity with the insurrectionist Palestinian people's courageous struggle against Israel's repressive actions and occupation.

The Soviet Union and Syria reaffirmed that the convocation of an international conference under UN auspices with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation as well as five permanent members of the UN Security Council, is an acceptable framework for the establishment of just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

They also expressed the conviction in the need for increasing efforts and consultations with the view to preparing an early convocation of an international conference.

The Soviet Union and Syria declared their solidarity with the struggle of the people of Lebanon for the liberation of the entire territory of their country from Israeli occupation, and resolutely insisted on an unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops.

The sides supported efforts toward the achievement of national accord in Lebanon and the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of this Arab state.

They also declared their support for steps on Lebanon, taken by the Committee of Six of the League of Arab States.

The sides reiterated their support for the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and demanded an end to foreign interference in Afghan affairs.

They called for the formation of a representative and broadly-based government in Afghanistan, with the participation of all opposing sides, and for the preservation of the national sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of that country.

The sides denounced terrorism in all forms and manifestations and called for invigorated international efforts to do away with it.

They said anti-terrorism efforts would be more efficient if an international conference, proposed to be convened by Syria, worked out a generally acceptable definition of terrorism.

The sides pointed to the great importance of relations between the CPSU and the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, which promotes stronger cooperation between the two countries and friendship between the Soviet and Syrian peoples.

Guided by the desire to deepen the coordination of the Soviet Union's and Syria's actions in world and Middle East affairs, the participants in the talks agreed on holding regular consultations and signing a protocol between the foreign ministries of the two countries.

Both sides expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the Damascus talks.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, Shevardnadze invited Al-Shar' to pay an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The date for the visit will be determined later by mutual agreement.

Shevardnadze Holds News Conference

*LD1902185589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1611 GMT 19 Feb 89*

[Text] Damascus, 19 (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, held a news conference here today on the results of his official visit to Syria.

I am pleased to welcome the representatives of the media, he said. I would like to thank you for your interest in our visit here and for your coverage of this visit.

We can only express profound satisfaction at the results of the conversations and talks which we have had and highlight the following aspects.

First, the Soviet leadership, as is well known, attributes great importance to its relations with Syria. A regular and intensive political dialogue is maintained between Moscow and Damascus, including at the highest level.

Yesterday we handed a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev to Comrade Hafiz al-Asad. The top leaders of our countries know each other well and keep up correspondence on problems of world politics and issues of bilateral relations.

I can say that M.S. Gorbachev's message touched upon very important aspects of the present world political situation and of Soviet-Syrian relations, as well as the Middle East as a whole. Naturally, our conversation with the Syrian President was first and foremost on the range of issues raised in this message.

President Hafiz al-Asad expressed deep and interesting ideas and thoughts which make it possible to see many problems better and to envisage more clearly the prospects for cooperation and interaction between the Soviet Union and Syria. These are good at present. However, it is important for there to be on both sides a wish and desire to work toward a higher quality in our relations in all aspects.

We had a meeting with 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, the vice president of Syria. This also demonstrated the existence of firm mutual understanding with our Syrian friends.

Talks with my colleague Faruq al-Shar' were thorough and fruitful. We were convinced that there are no differences in our approaches on the absolute majority of positions. Both sides testified to the dynamic and positive development of Soviet-Syrian relations.

A joint Soviet-Syrian statement, which sets out the agreed positions of the sides, has been adopted on the results of the talks. This also testifies to the high degree of mutual understanding between us.

Proceeding from the need to further deepen coordination of action between the two countries, we have agreed to hold political consultations on a regular basis. A protocol is to be signed between our ministries of foreign affairs on this count.

The conversations and talks took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Second, particular attention was paid during the visit to the development of ties in various fields, including the military field.

We discussed ways of improving our commercial relations and economic relations as a whole. Both sides have a firm intention to develop them and reach higher levels of efficiency and mutual benefit. This will be possible if we assimilate and bring into general practice new progressive forms of cooperation which make it possible to realize the potential of our countries to the full.

Third, understandably, the situation in the Middle East and the problems of an Arab-Israeli settlement took a central place in our conversations. Syria is most directly involved in the Middle East conflict and is sincerely interested in it being settled as quickly as possible.

Naturally, we wanted to get first hand, as they say, the appraisal of our Syrian friends of the present situation in the Middle East and to exchange views with Syrian leaders with regard to ways and means of achieving an all-encompassing settlement in this region.

We have full understanding of the principle elements for a Middle East settlement. The Soviet Union and Syria are supporters of collective methods of solving problems. We advocate the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East and consider it important to step up efforts to prepare for it. It is precisely preparing for the conference that is now becoming the central problem.

To what should particular attention now be turned?

To bringing into play the machinery of the UN Security Council, which possesses great potential for peacemaking. We are also ready to consider this matter at a special session of the council at the level of foreign ministers.

And to stepping up consultations of the five permanent members of the council, who, acting in contact with the immediate participants in the conflict, would take on the function of preparatory body for the conference.

As the experience of unblocking other regional conflicts that has already been built up testifies, the United Nations' peacemaking potential and that of its secretary-general could be brought into play also to secure other mutually acceptable and flexible forms of constructive interaction among the parties involved in a settlement.

An understanding was reached that a definite timeframe should be established for the preparation of an international conference. A period of no more than 9 months is being talked about.

We agreed to form a special working group for systematic consultations on questions concerning the preparation for and convocation of an international conference.

Meetings between the foreign ministers precisely on the problem of a Middle East settlement are to become more systematic.

Certain ideas concerning reducing tension in the region and strengthening trust there were also discussed.

In this context the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East was supported.

A great deal of positive interest was shown in organizing under the United Nations aegis a regional center for reducing the danger of war. The sides agreed to further exchange views on this matter.

Matters pertaining to the situation in Lebanon were also touched upon in the talks. Both sides confirmed their support for preserving the political unity and territorial integrity of this state and their readiness to do all they

can to promote this. The USSR and Syria stated their support for the steps taken by the "Committee of Six" of the Arab League on Lebanon.

In all, we consider that the discussions we have had in Damascus were most useful and fruitful. Important reference points have been established for the continuation of close cooperation and further development of political dialogue in the interests of strengthening friendship between our countries and of peace and security in the Middle East and worldwide.

I would like to express cordial gratitude to the leadership of Syria and particularly to President Hafiz al-Asad for the warm and cordial reception and for the spirit of comradeship and cooperation, and also to convey very best wishes to the residents of Damascus and the whole Syrian people, Eduard Shevardnadze said.

Departs Syria

*LD1902140189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1339 GMT 19 Feb 89*

[Text] Damascus, 19 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, left Damascus today on the completion of his official visit to the Syrian Arab Republic.

At the airport, the Soviet guest was seen off by Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'.

Among the seeing-off party were Aleksandr Zotov, Soviet ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic, and the Syrian ambassador to the USSR Mohammad 'Isam al-Na'ib.

Before the departure, E.A. Shevardnadze gave a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists during which he summed up the results of the visit and his meetings and conversations with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, vice president 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, and foreign minister Faruq al-Shar'. He also answered a number of questions.

Shevardnadze Visits Jordan, Meets Leaders

Visit Welcomed by Foreign Minister

*LD1802221789 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT
18 Feb 89*

[Text] Amman February 18 TASS—"We welcome the Middle East tour of the USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and regard it as the continuation of Soviet global initiatives which help ease international tension," Jordan's Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim said on Saturday.

This offers an opportunity to do credit to the Soviet Union and its leadership for the decision on Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, as the confidence-building decision, he said in an interview to a TASS correspondent Gennadiy Marunin. "We have witnessed

of late numerous Soviet initiatives which we regard as a very important contribution to the consolidation of peace and security," he said.

"We have always appreciated highly the Soviet Union's contribution to the implementation of the peace process that our region needs so much," the Jordanian minister said. "The Soviet stand on the Arab-Israeli conflict is welcomed in the Arab world. As a great power and the co-author of the UN Security Council's Resolution 242 the USSR has made an additional contribution to the achievement of a fair, durable and comprehensive peace in the region.

Marwan al-Qasim said that there exist very close and sincere relations between Jordan and the USSR. "Cooperation in many areas has been developing excellently in the recent years, and we hope for the further widening and strengthening of relations between our two countries," he said.

Arrives in Amman

*LD1902142789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1415 GMT 19 Feb 89*

[Text] Amman, 19 February (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs, who is on a trip to a number of countries in the Near and Middle East, arrived today on an official visit to Amman.

The Soviet guest was met at the airport by Marwan al-Qasim, Jordan's minister of foreign affairs.

USSR ambassador to Jordan Aleksandr Zinchuk was among those at the airport.

Interviewed by Jordan TV

*LD1902180788 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1710 GMT 19 Feb 89*

[Text] Amman, 19 Feb (TASS)—The Soviet Union values very highly the active foreign political course of the Jordanian leadership both in the whole world and in the region, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, said in an interview on Jordanian national television on his arrival today in Amman.

"I hope that our Soviet-Jordanian dialogue will be useful and effective," he said. The Soviet minister stressed that in conversations with King Husayn and talks with Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i and Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim attention will be focused primarily on the deepening of Soviet-Jordanian cooperation and "undoubtedly on problems of a Near East settlement."

"As is well-known," the minister continued, "we have arrived here at King Husayn's invitation. This is the first visit to Jordan by a Soviet foreign minister. The Soviet leadership, and I would like to say this straightaway,

attaches great importance to this visit, not because it is the first but because the problems we are to discuss with the Jordanian leadership deserve serious attention and in-depth discussion."

E.A. Shevardnadze said he will convey a special message from M.S. Gorbachev to King Husayn, which concerns the main current problems, including issues of settling the Near East conflict.

Meets Husayn, Prime Minister

*PM2002095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 February 1989 Second Edition p 5*

["Conversations in Amman"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Amman, 19 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, who is in Jordan on an official visit, today met Husayn ibn Talal, king of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and gave him a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the conversation, which was characterized by warmth and friendliness, particular attention was devoted to the search for an outcome to one of the most complex problems of the Near East region: the Arab-Israeli conflict. The conviction was expressed by both sides that a solution to it could be found only by political means on a collective basis.

The participants in the conversation said that wide-ranging agreement had come about in the world on the need for immediate action to create the machinery for a Near East settlement. Confirmation of this was the support in Geneva by 138 states for the resolution of the UN General Assembly in favor of convening an international conference on the Near East.

Shevardnadze spoke in favor of beginning multilateral and bilateral contacts to prepare a conference by making use of the UN's peace-making potential. A Security Council session could be convened at the foreign ministerial level. Preparations could also be carried out within the framework of consultations between the permanent members of the Security Council, with the participation of the UN secretary general.

Shevardnadze noted that it would also be expedient to introduce a time limit for the preparatory stage, establishing the period, for example, at 6 to 9 months.

In the plan to coordinate the efforts of the Arabs, the idea of arranging a meeting between the representatives of Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, and the PLO is an interesting and timely one. Also, the idea of setting up a so-called "Committee of the Heads of Arab States" to prepare for an international conference, which would work in close contact with the Security Council, could prove fruitful.

Dwelling on the role of the permanent members of the Security Council at the conference, the Soviet minister noted that it ought to lie in the creation there of a constructive atmosphere. They could make—either individually or as a group—proposals and recommendations; they could make contact with the parties concerned in the event of complications arising; and they could also participate in drawing up and implementing the guarantees for the agreements reached.

Shevardnadze stressed that, as the USSR sees it, the guarantees of security ought to extend to all participants in the settlement, including Jordan, of course.

The participants in the meeting declared their solidarity with the Palestinian people and with its struggle in the territories occupied by Israel. The USSR and Jordan are united in the belief that the continuing peaceful uprising of the Palestinian population highlights the pressing need for the swiftest political settlement.

Discussing the Afghan question, the sides pointed out the need to promote the process of restoration of the internal unity of Afghan society and stressed the impermissibility of outside interference.

The opinion was expressed of the importance of activating the Iran-Iraq talks and accelerating the drafting of accords regarding a settlement of the conflict on the basis of a balance of interests.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the state of and prospects for development of Soviet-Jordanian relations and stressed their desire to continue, in the future, to deepen bilateral cooperation for the sake of the progress and well-being of the peoples of both countries.

Shevardnadze expressed, on behalf of the Soviet people and leadership, gratitude for the sympathy and help Jordan gave following the grave natural disaster, the Armenian earthquake.

On both sides, emphasis was placed on the importance of the accords and mutual understanding reached in the course of the talks and on the desire for further development of mutually favorable cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Also today, Eduard Shevardnadze met Jordanian Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i. In a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, various aspects of Soviet-Jordanian relations and prospects for cooperation were discussed, as well as questions of a Near East settlement and inter-Arab relations, in which hopeful trends were noted. A broad agreement on positions and approaches on essentially all the aspects discussed transpired.

The sides called for an intensification of the preparatory process for an international conference on the Near East, using all the existing possibilities, above all within the framework of the UN Security Council.

Shevardnadze informed the prime minister of the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and of the implementation of the economic reform, which is designed particularly to raise the USSR's foreign economic activity to a qualitatively higher level.

Zayd al-Rifa'i said that in Jordan, the processes taking place in the Soviet Union are followed with interest, and he expressed his wish for success in the USSR's restructuring.

It was agreed that shortly the sides will hold a more specific exchange of opinions with the aim of perfecting and developing economic relations.

Certain international problems and other questions of mutual interest were examined.

Shevardnadze held a thorough [obstoyatelnyy] and constructive exchange of views on a broad circle of international and regional problems, as well as a number of issues of bilateral cooperation with Jordan's Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim. It was noted on the Jordanian side that great interest is evoked in Jordan by the active Soviet foreign policy aimed at improving international relations and the construction of a new interlinked world on the basis of a consensus common to all mankind and a balance of interests.

After discussing in detail the complex of issues linked to a Near East settlement, the sides noted the proximity of the approaches of the Soviet Union and Jordan to dealing with this task and expressed a mutual readiness for more vigorous interaction in the direction of practical preparations for an international conference on the Near East and the start of the collective negotiating process. Regarding this, the importance of the cohesion of the Arab countries and their active participation in preparing the conference was emphasized.

The Jordanian side was interested in being acquainted with the Soviet approach to preparations for this conference and also expressed its constructive thoughts in this regard.

The Soviet minister noted the topicality of raising the matter of reducing the level of military confrontation in the region. This would facilitate the creation of a new atmosphere in relations between the states of the Near East, which would in turn accelerate the establishment of a lasting and durable peace in that region.

After discussing the progress in a settlement to the Iran-Iraq conflict, the sides spoke in favor of continuing and consolidating the peace talks process and of the search for outcomes and solutions on the basis of complete implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No 598 that would be equally acceptable to Iraq and Iran.

Satisfaction was expressed at the state of Soviet-Jordanian trade and economic, scientific and technological, and cultural ties, and a mutual desire to broaden and deepen cooperation in these areas was reiterated.

Views Talks With Leaders

LD2002013789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2315 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] Amman, 20 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, described the talks in Jordan as "fruitful, interesting, and substantive." In the course of his meetings with King Husayn, Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i, and Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim, a broad spectrum of issues was discussed: the international situation, regional conflicts, and the trends in the development of international relations which have taken shape recently.

Speaking at the news conference, which took place late Sunday evening at Amman airport, Shevardnadze said: "I can directly say that the sphere of concord on many present-day global problems has expanded. Today's talks continued the dialogue that was started by Gorbachev and King Husayn in Moscow."

"The Middle East problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict were, of course, the central topic of our talks. The Soviet and Jordanian leadership views coincide on all the main fundamental issues, such as the international conference, all its preparatory process, as well as other problems," the Soviet minister pointed out. At the present stage, when certain trends have appeared that favor a settlement of the Middle East conflict, he continued, the practical preparation of the international conference has become a task of primary importance. In order to achieve this, the work of the UN Security Council, particularly its permanent members, of the UN general secretary, of the European Economic Community, and of all parties interested in a settlement is necessary. The chances for a settlement, the Soviet minister stressed, are not bad at present. We have reached agreement with the Jordanian leadership on the maximum utilization of these chances, and we have also reached agreement on exchanging the necessary information in the interests of hastening a settlement.

"I am leaving Jordan with a sense of profound satisfaction with the conversations that have taken place, and with their results," Eduard Shevardnadze stressed in conclusion. The Soviet minister then replied to journalists' questions.

Answering questions from journalists, Eduard Shevardnadze said: "The convocation of an international conference on the Middle East is a strategic goal. We have now reached the stage when one must cut down on discussion and start practical work." The Arabs, the minister went on, have done everything possible for the convocation of a conference. The rest, he added, will become clear at a meeting with the Israeli Foreign Minister.

Shevardnadze said that in Cairo he plans to meet with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens. During his visit to Egypt, he will also meet with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

The Soviet minister pointed out that there is an understanding between the USSR and the United States "on a number of issues" concerning settling regional conflicts in general, and the Middle East one in particular. "I have already said that former U.S. Secretary of State Shultz' plan contains elements acceptable to all the parties of the conflict; yet it also contains unacceptable ones," he noted. "I do not think that anyone or any state could suggest a universal plan of action. Collective efforts are required for preparing and holding the international conference, and joint work is needed to define the concept of the conference."

The minister gave information on holding permanent contacts and consultations with the permanent members of the UN Security Council on the new ideas proposed by the USSR. "We think the Security Council remains the main link in the process of preparing the international conference and in the process of a Middle East settlement on the whole," Eduard Shevardnadze said.

Ends 1-Day Visit, Departs

*LD1902213488 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2121 GMT 19 Feb 89*

[Text] Amman, 20 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, completed his 1-day visit to Jordan's capital and left Amman. In the course of the visit he met Husayn, king of Jordan; Zayd al-Rifa'i, prime minister, and Marwan al-Qasim, minister of foreign affairs.

Marwan al-Qasim saw the Soviet guest off at the airport.

Before his departure, Eduard Shevardnadze met local and foreign journalists and answered their questions.

Shevardnadze Visits Egypt, Meets Leaders

Visit Viewed by Mubarak

*LD2002104689 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT
20 Feb 89*

[Text] Tokyo February 20 TASS—A peaceful settlement in the Middle East would be difficult to achieve without the participation of the Soviet Union, which maintains friendly relations with many countries of the region, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak stated in an interview with the Japanese ASAHI SHIMBUN newspaper and the Terebi ASAHI Television Network.

In the interview made public today, the Egyptian leader voiced hope that his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze would be a fruitful one. Mubarak emphasized that cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union was essential for ensuring peace in the Middle East. This was confirmed, in particular, by the efforts to settle the Afghan problem.

The Egyptian president pointed out that genuine peace in the Middle East could be achieved only through negotiations. He expressed hope that an international Middle East peace conference would open this year and would become a step on the way to ensuring peace in the region.

Mubarak's view is that all the parties concerned should participate in the conference. He emphasized that the Palestine Liberation Organisation could not be excluded from the dialogue.

The president said he realised that it would be a long time before Israel agrees to the holding of an international conference. At the same time he pointed out that the population of Israel was favouring such a conference, and expressed hope that Israel would show a greater readiness for cooperation than before.

Arrives; Meets Press, Mubarak

*LD2102120689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 20 Feb 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Shevardnadze continues his trip to countries of the Near and Middle East. Our special correspondents F. Seyful-Mulyukov and V. Gusev report:

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze arrived in Cairo today for an official visit at the invitation of the Egyptian Government. He was met at the airport by 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, and other officials. [video shows Shevardnadze, entourage on aircraft steps, Shevardnadze and al-Majid shaking hands] The first visit in 15 years by a representative of the Soviet leadership to this, one of the largest Arab countries, is a good sign in the development of our dynamic relations, which are characterized by growing mutual understanding and cooperation.

At Cairo airport, despite the late time, scores of journalists have gathered. They bombarded the Soviet guest with questions about the purpose of his visit to the Near East and relations with Egypt. [video shows crowd of journalists]

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] A new stage, a qualitatively new stage is starting in cooperation, which will be based on principles of mutual respect, full equality, and mutual advantage. [end recording]

[Gusen] The Soviet-Egyptian dialogue in Cairo has started in the Presidential Palace. [video shows Shevardnadze arriving at the palace] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze met here Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt. [video shows Shevardnadze and Mubarak shaking hands, and then in conversation] He handed him a message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in which key issues of bilateral relations, the present situation in the Near East, and the prospect of achieving peace in this region are examined.

In the course of a frank conversation, President Mubarak and the USSR minister of foreign affairs noted the fact that cooperation between our countries is assuming a more constructive character. This is in the vital interest of the two friendly states.

The Egyptian leader evaluated highly the dynamic foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its line toward the strengthening of principles of the new political thinking, including on a settlement in the Near East. The cooperation between Cairo and Moscow in this respect is of great importance.

Holds Talks With Mubarak

PM2102135789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 February 1989 Second Edition p 4

[Text] Cairo, 20 Feb (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is here on an official visit, today met with Egyptian President H. Mubarak and handed him a note from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In a conversation, which was held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and mutual respect, a broad review was made of cardinal problems of our time and of Soviet-Egyptian relations.

Noting that mankind stands at an extremely crucial point in its development, when unprecedented historic opportunities are beginning to be used, thus overcoming the terrible dangers that persist, E.A. Shevardnadze outlined in detail the main parameters of the new political thinking, which in the opinion of the Soviet leadership incorporates the philosophical and world-outlook approaches to the establishment of qualitatively new standards of relations among peoples, based on the primacy of values common to all mankind. The principles of the new political thinking, embodied in specific foreign policy enactments, will make it possible to achieve tangible results in disarmament and in the settlement of regional conflicts.

H. Mubarak highly assessed the fundamentally new concept of international relations worked out by the Soviet leadership and set forth in concentrated form in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations.

The president noted that the Soviet Union's dynamic and enterprising policy, which has done much to bring about the favorable changes in the world climate, is received in Egypt with a lively, interested response, and gives rise to hopes of further positive changes for the better in the world arena.

In the Soviet Union, E.A. Shevardnadze stressed, it is assumed that Egypt, as a major country of the Arab world with rich historical, cultural, and political traditions, is called upon to occupy a fitting place in the community of nations. On the Soviet side a positive assessment is made of Egypt's role in the Nonaligned

Movement; its constructive and carefully weighed approach to solving urgent international problems is noted; and acknowledgement is expressed of Egypt's support for Soviet peace initiatives.

Examining the state of affairs in the Near East, E.A. Shevardnadze drew attention to the fact that the continuing arms race in the region, caused by the persistent tension here, threatens to not only further destabilize the situation but to also become a brake on disarmament processes gaining force in other regions of the world.

After agreeing with this assessment, H. Mubarak said he would support any considerations that promote the solution of this problem [on podderzhal by lyubyye soobrazheniya, kotoryye sposobstvovali by resheniyu etoy problemy].

The discussion revealed the joint opinion of the need to mobilize all efforts for the earliest settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict with due account being taken of the interests of all sides. For this purpose it is important to activate to the full the peacemaking potential of the United Nations to hold multilateral and bilateral consultations and contacts that will lead, without unjustified delays, to the convocation of an international conference on the Near East.

Analyzing all aspects of the state and dynamics of Soviet-Egyptian relations in the conversation, the sides noted with profound satisfaction that there is every reason to consider them entirely normalized. In the two countries' relations there are, of course, problems, but none that might not be resolved.

The leaders of the Soviet Union and Egypt attach priority importance to the further expansion and development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries in various fields, and intend to consistently and purposefully act in this direction. Confidence was expressed that Soviet-Egyptian relations, which are being built on the principles of full respect for the uniqueness of the sides and the character of their mutual relations with other countries, in the new stage will be a factor for increasing peace and growth of mutual understanding among the peoples.

H. Mubarak accepted with gratitude an invitation from M.S. Gorbachev to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. The time of the visit will be agreed jointly.

On the same day E.A. Shevardnadze began talks with I. 'Abd al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

Notes Agreement on Mideast Conflict

LD2102111589 Moscow in English to Great Britain
and Ireland 2000 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has met the Egyptian president, Husni Mubarak. After the meeting Shevardnadze told newsmen that the two countries appeared to hold identical views on ways to

settle the Middle East conflict. The Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid has said the parties favored the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East that would involve all parties concerned, including the PLO.

During his earlier visits to Syria and Jordan, Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the view that the Arabs had done everything they could for such a forum to take place. The rest, he said, would become clear at a meeting with the foreign minister of Israel, Moshe Arens, who had already arrived in Cairo to meet the Soviet minister on Wednesday.

Visit Welcomed by Al-Majid

LD2002142989 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT
20 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo February 20 TASS—The Soviet Union is showing a genuine desire to contribute to a political settlement in the Middle East, Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, Egypt's deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, has said. Speaking to Soviet journalists he emphasized that Egypt welcomed the Soviet Union's policy and actions which prove the Soviet interest in establishing peace in the region.

The current Middle East tour of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, 'Abd al-Majid went on to say, provides a opportunity for an exchange of opinions on a wide range of issues related to the situation in the Middle East. Egypt is expecting this trip to advance the Middle East peace process.

The world is now witnessing the considerable growth of peace-loving sentiments, which indicates progress in settling international problems. The world welcomed the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, measures to settle the Namibian problem and the end of the Iran-Iraq war. Similar positive shifts should take place in the Middle East as well. The PLO has radically changed its stance, having taken major steps towards a mutually acceptable settlement. The Egyptian minister expressed the hope that Israel would respond positively to the PLO's constructive actions.

Egypt has a high opinion of its relations with the Soviet Union, 'Abd al-Majid said. He confirmed, Egypt's desire to promote all-round ties with the Soviet Union and emphasized that there were real opportunities for developing further cooperation between the two countries.

Speaks on Ties, Mideast Conference

LD2002222389 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1950 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo, 20 Feb (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is here on an official visit, spoke at a dinner given in his honor by I. 'Abd al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and foreign minister.

Esteemed Mr 'Abd al-Majid!

Ladies and gentlemen!

This evening has awakened in us memories of distant and more recent occasions.

Some months ago, last May, we welcomed in Moscow Mr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and foreign minister. This was an unusual visit as it signified the new quality in the Soviet-Egyptian dialogue which had been foreshadowed by the exchange of personal messages between M.S. Gorbachev and President H. Mubarak.

And now we have our visit to Cairo, the first for many years, years which marked a period of alienation. The statesmen and public figures of our countries are overcoming it and erasing it from the map of practical policy. But in the memories and the hearts of the Soviet people, for whom Port Said and Aswan, Helwan and Alexandria became matters of personal biography, it—this period—never existed.

As the deeply honored Najib Mahfuz, widely read in the Soviet Union, said: "A good word keeps its aroma for all time." We can add: good feelings, good relations, and a good memory.

All this, which is imponderable and intangible, and stronger than the best kinds of concrete, holds together the foundations of the new Soviet-Egyptian relations that are being laid today. Our visit is called upon to foster the inculcation of this tendency. We can with full justification place the full normalization of Soviet-Egyptian relations, which has now become a fact, on a level with the greatest political achievements of the recent period, which have so greatly promoted radical changes in the nature of world politics and in the maintenance of a dialogue common to all mankind.

When I think of this, I am reminded of the amazingly profound thought of 'Ibn Khaldoun the medieval Arab politician and scientist, on cooperation, without which the existence of mankind is incomplete. Only by cooperating with one's own kind, he said, does man master the world.

We, however, do not live in the Middle Ages, and our times fill many old concepts with new meaning.

What can be said of the current forms and content of Soviet-Egyptian cooperation?

It is gratifying that it is acquiring a multidimensional character. A structure of political interaction in global and regional affairs is taking shape. We do not oppose it being implemented on a regular basis.

Trade and economic, scientific and cultural ties are increasing. Joint societies and enterprises have begun to be set up.

Of course, all of this is only a beginning. At this stage our relations can be likened to the flowering of springtime. The cold and wet are behind, the first blossoms have appeared on the branches, but there is still plenty of work to be done in order to obtain the full fruits.

We would like to see them not just in the sphere of bilateral relations.

In the recent period the political climate on the planet has been changing for the better. The principles of the new political thinking are becoming established in interstate relations. The first real steps have been taken toward a safer future for the earth. Dialogue is ever more noticeably prevailing over confrontation. Traditional and—we'll be blunt—obsolete standards and outlooks are being reviewed. It is indicative that in this common channel the Soviet Union, aspiring to the democratization of interstate communication, is reducing, or even completely excluding from it the previously predominant ideological component. The world can be saved from nuclear, ecological, economic and other catastrophes only by acting together and being guided by the priority of values common to all mankind. We have a vital interest in the construction of international relations on innovative designs, and we are gladdened that the ideas and proposals M.S. Gorbachev set out in his speech at the United Nations General Assembly session are meeting with a well-disposed and committed response, as has been shown by our conversation with President H. Mubarak.

This is also not the least important factor in strengthening our hope that Egypt, as one of the authoritative and influential members of the international community and the Nonaligned Movement, will continue to actively assist the process of improving the situation, including that in the vicinity.

Speaking of our cooperation, I cannot fail to mention another aim of our visit.

This is our 3d day in the Near East. The meetings and conversations in Damascus, Amman, and now in Cairo have confirmed most clearly that there is no more urgent task for the Near East than to reach a comprehensive settlement. The main impression we have gained from these meetings is that, expressing the will of their people, Arab statesmen see the solution to the problems of the Near East from positions of a peaceful perspective.

Everything points to the fact that the question of convening an international conference must be put into motion without delay.

This idea is now generally recognized as the only possible path to a just and stable peace in the area. It is only within the framework of this kind of forum that an equally effective position for all interested sides and a mutually acceptable solution of disputed issues can be found.

In our opinion there is already also a reliable key to set the mechanism of talks in motion. This is the principle of an adjusted balance in the interests of the sides, be they the interests of the Arab states, the Palestinians, or Israel.

The Soviet Union is open to constructive interaction with all those who are prepared to contribute to a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It goes without saying that we see Egypt among the partners in this important matter.

A multiplicity of the most varied conjectures about our visit to the area have been voiced in recent days. There is no need for guessing; the aims of the Soviet Near East policy are open.

The Near East is close to our borders. It is close to us as a result of our historical participation in the destinies of the countries and peoples of the area. It is close as the cradle of a civilization that is threatened by so much today.

For this reason, the goals of our Near East policy are that peace should come to prevail here, and that in peaceful conditions we are able to construct and develop friendly, mutually advantageous relations with all countries and peoples in the region without exception.

Here, where the eye is sometimes deceived by mirages in the desert, there must be no place for political illusions. A peaceful future for the Near East is no illusion and no mirage. The idea of this future is founded on a sober and realistic approach and on a recognition of deep responsibility for the destinies of peoples. Immense efforts will, of course, be required for this vision to become a reality. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to discard prejudices and suspicion and display a will and readiness for civilized communication and dialogue.

The Near East can and must be a sphere of interaction only for the peoples who inhabit it. As far as the world community and its various members are concerned, their duty is to assist the Near East selflessly in this. We also view our visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt through the perspective of this duty, and we are convinced that Soviet-Egyptian cooperation will not fail to touch on the Near East problem.

We have something to work for, hand-in-hand with you and with the other states in the region.

Let this work reward us one hundredfold.

For peace in the Near East.

For the realization of hopes and aspirations of the people of this long-suffering land.

I wish you, Minister and all those present, good health, peace, and prosperity for the people of Egypt.

Shevardnadze To Meet Israel's Arens in Cairo
*LD2002133788 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT
20 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—According to an announcement by a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry, Eduard Shevardnadze, within the framework of his tour of the Middle East, will have a meeting with his Israeli counterpart Moshe Arens in Cairo for an exchange of views on matters concerning a settlement of the Middle East problem.

Bessmertnykh, Varennikov Discuss Afghan Pullout

Answer Questions at News Conference
*PM1802173489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Report by correspondent G. Sharodeyev from the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, under general heading "Afghanistan: Extinguishing the Flames of Conflict": "Understanding the Extent of Responsibility"; for further reportage on the Bessmertnykh-Varennikov news conference, please see the Worldwide Issues section of today's DAILY REPORT]

[Text] A press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists in connection with the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was addressed by USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh. He said, in part:

"The Soviet troops in Afghanistan, who were charged with the exceptionally important, honorable international mission of safeguarding the country's independence and autonomy against a threat from outside, are now entirely on Soviet territory. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops was carried out by agreement with the Afghan leadership. It took place in faultless order, without losses or complications.

"What is the significance of this unique event of a military-political nature? A new stage is opening up in regional and international policy, when one of the most heated conflicts shows a real possibility of being resolved by purely peaceful means. The element of the presence of foreign troops on someone else's territory is being removed entirely from the situation in this region. After all, until the very last day it was stubbornly asserted in the West and in the countries bordering on Afghanistan that Soviet troops were barring the way to a political settlement of the Afghan conflict. Now the troops are not there. But it remains to be seen whether the tension in and around Afghanistan will be removed as a result. We have substantial grounds for suspecting that those who pretended that the whole problem of Afghanistan lay in the presence of Soviet troops were insincere.

"The withdrawal of our troops also shows that the Soviet leadership's words do not diverge from its deeds. The USSR, having made commitments to world public opinion, fulfilled them. And, which is equally or perhaps even more important, the state and party leadership of the USSR devoutly fulfilled its word to its own people.

"One last thing. Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy have again demonstrated their readiness and ability to strictly observe the spirit and letter of the treaties and agreements concluded. Our country recognizes its share of responsibility for an all-embracing, peaceful outcome to the Afghan crisis. We retain friendly ties with the Afghan people, with whom international accords were signed and are in force. We intend to continue to grant all-around assistance to our Afghan friends."

A correspondent from the FRG asked: It is known that the Najibullah regime has 500,000 well armed soldiers at its disposal. At the same time it is clear from the reports coming in that they are incapable of withstanding 15,000 mujahidin and defending Kabul. What is your comment on that?

USSR Deputy Defense Minister Army General V.I. Varennikov, who took part in the press conference, said:

"It is true that the present Afghan regime has at its disposal 500,000 Army servicemen, troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of State Security, and defenders of the revolution. They are not only concentrated in or around Kabul, but are located all over the country's territory. Events show that the opposition's schemes—and these take the form, first of all, of attempting to seize a few key regions, such as Jalalabad, Gardeyz, Khowst, and Qandahar—were doomed. The armed opposition did not manage to achieve any positive results. Although the Soviet subunits left many regions of Afghanistan more than 6 months ago, Afghan troops continue to control them."

Question from Norwegian television: How fair would it be, in your opinion, to describe the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan as the repudiation of the policy of "expansionism" on Moscow's part, which was spoken of repeatedly in the West?

"It would not be fair," General V.I. Varennikov stressed. "I believe that questions connected with the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan are directly related to the new political thinking, the new policy. They are also related to the general changes in the international sphere that we have all witnessed. Questions connected with what happened in 1979 must be linked to the circumstances that were characteristic of that time, including the relations that existed between states."

A.A. Bessmertnykh added:

"What has now been done and is being done in regard to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is undoubtedly a reflection of the new thinking in politics. It is our conviction that the leaders of the world's major

states, and first and foremost the NATO countries, should act in the same way. In this connection the Soviet leadership has sent special messages to the leaders of a number of leading countries who could play a certain part in the stabilization of the situation around Afghanistan and the provision of economic and humanitarian aid to that country. The addressees include the leaders of France, Britain, the FRG, Italy, Iran, Pakistan, and China. Messages have been sent to the UN secretary general, the leadership of the Nonaligned Movement, the Islamic Conference Organization, the OAU, the Arab League, and the leaders of ASEAN and the EEC.

"M.S. Gorbachev has sent a separate message to President George Bush.

"We believe that all countries should now respond to the opportunity that has arisen to put an end to this prolonged conflict, directing events toward a complete and rapid settlement and the restoration of Afghanistan as a prosperous, independent, neutral, nonaligned state."

Question from AP: How many Soviet soldiers were killed, missing, or wounded in Afghanistan?

General V.I. Varennikov said that, as was announced earlier, losses of personnel in the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan are in the area of 15,000 men. There are 36,000 wounded and 312 missing without trace.

Question from IZVESTIYA: Has anything new emerged in recent weeks in the search for Soviet servicemen captured in Afghanistan?

"We know the whereabouts of a number of our servicemen," A.A. Bessmertnykh noted. "We know that a certain number of them are still in the hands of the armed opposition. The other day several Soviet soldiers were returned. This work is continuing. We have managed to recover some of our guys from countries to which they were taken by force. At present we regard some 20 former Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan as internees. It is not known whether all 312 men are alive. But we hope they are alive. And we will do everything possible to bring them home..."

Further on News Conference

PM1802194889 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain 2d Rank V. Kocherov report under the rubric "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center": "Joint Efforts Needed"]

[Text] A news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on 17 February in connection with the completion of the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan.

A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and Army General V.I. Varennikov, Ground Forces commander in chief and USSR deputy defense minister, took part in the news conference.

In his statement to journalists A.A. Bessmertnykh said, in particular, that the Soviet troops, who were in Afghanistan at the invitation of its government, left that country with dignity and honor, having fulfilled the tasks they were given. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops was carried out on the order of the Soviet Government and by agreement with the Afghan leadership. What is the significance of this unique military-political event? First of all, it opens up a new stage in regional and international policy, when one of the most heated conflicts shows a real possibility of being resolved by purely peaceful means. However, there are substantial grounds to suspect that those who pretended that the whole problem of Afghanistan lies in the presence of Soviet troops were insincere. The Soviet troops in Afghanistan, by playing the part of a stabilizing factor ensuring the country's security, created sufficiently favorable conditions for the development of an internal Afghan dialogue and a dialogue outside Afghanistan with a view to a settlement.

The Soviet troops' withdrawal demonstrates that the Soviet leadership's words do not diverge from its deeds. The USSR, having made a commitment to international public opinion, fulfilled it. And, which is equally or perhaps even more important, the state and party leadership of the USSR kept its word to its own people.

We are convinced, the USSR deputy foreign minister emphasized, that further bloodshed in that country is not necessary, and that those who concoct plans for continuing the fratricidal war are committing a crime against the Afghan people.

We cannot disregard the Pakistani president's statement that Islamabad still entertains plans for the creation of a so-called Pakistani-Afghan confederation—that is, a plan to weaken Afghanistan and swallow it up.

A.A. Bessmertnykh said in conclusion that the Soviet Union recognizes its share of responsibility for an all-embracing, peaceful outcome to the Afghan crisis.

A.A. Bessmertnykh and Army Gen V.I. Varennikov answered journalists' questions.

Question: Have all the Soviet troops left, or do Soviet military advisers remain in Afghanistan?

Answer: All troops, down to the last man, have left the country. A small number of advisers remain in Kabul, including military advisers, but these advisers are not attached to Afghan forces. Rather, they are attached to the Government of Afghanistan. We are talking about a small number of people.

Question: How much damage has the war done to Afghanistan?

Answer: The war has indeed done great damage to that country and its people. But it must be observed that this damage was carried out primarily by opposition gangs, and it is the opposition and the forces that supported it and backed it in every way that bear responsibility for

this. Despite the fact that the Soviet troops are a military entity, they did much that was of great economic value to the Afghan people. They built roads, houses, and electricity transmission lines; they set up various water systems; and they gave free assistance. And now, as they leave the territory of Afghanistan, Soviet servicemen have handed over to the Afghan people 183 facilities worth several hundred million rubles.

Question: How many Soviet soldiers were killed, missing, or wounded in Afghanistan?

Answer: As for losses, USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze announced that the personnel losses of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan are in the region of 15,000. As for the wounded: about 36,000. There are 312 people missing without a trace.

Other questions were also answered.

Afghanistan Announces State of Emergency

PM1902192589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report: "State of Emergency Declared"]

[Text] A decree of the president of Afghanistan announcing the state of emergency in Afghanistan was read over Afghan radio and television on Saturday.

In the interests of settling the situation in and around Afghanistan, of ending a fratricidal war and ensuring peace and stability, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, in accordance with the interests of the people, proclaimed the course of national reconciliation 2 years ago, the document states. The overwhelming majority of prisoners were released from prisons. Political freedoms and the activity of political parties were ensured. The Constitution was endorsed. Elections to the National Council were held. A coalition government with the participation of nonparty figures was formed. All-around readiness for a dialogue with all representatives of the opposition was stated.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1912 GMT on 18 February, in a similar report on the Afghan state of emergency decree, adds: "All these measures have been real steps confirming convincingly that the policy of national reconciliation is not a slogan but a natural process which has prospects, that the people of Afghanistan support and endorse the line at ensuring peace and stability."]

Large-scale initiatives were simultaneously made in the international arena to settle the situation around Afghanistan. The Geneva accords were concluded as a result of the constructive, flexible stand of the Republic of Afghanistan. Strict observance of the Geneva accords by the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan made it possible to conclude the Soviet troop pullout. But Pakistan and the United States, far from observing these

agreements, overtly and grossly violated them. The document cites convincing facts of numerous violations of the spirit and letter of the provisions of the Geneva accords by Islamabad.

The Pakistani authorities have concentrated troops on the border with Afghanistan and are trying to impose on the armed opposition a government that suits them. Some groups of the opposition have rejected the policy of national reconciliation. They have proclaimed the slogan of the continuation of war and bloodshed which plays into the hands of historical enemies of the Afghan people. Over the recent years definite circles in the United States, Pakistan, and a number of other countries broadened the scope of war against the Republic of Afghanistan. [TASS adds: "Islamabad and Washington continue to heighten tension in Afghanistan and around it and in the region as a whole. The purpose of these actions is to arrest the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation and to interfere with political settlement, to continue bloodshed, to jeopardize the country's political independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty. The main purpose in these conditions is to prevent the threat of the destruction of the country and the people."]

Therefore, in order to repulse armed aggression from the outside; to resolutely protect independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, the ideals of the policy of national reconciliation; and to ensure peace and tranquility in the land of the Afghans, and following the provisions of the Constitution, a state of emergency is introduced in the territory of Afghanistan as of 19 February 1989, the decree says.

[TASS adds: "During the operation of the state of emergency, the activity of the state bodies, including the executive, legislative and judiciary authorities, the activity of political parties and public organisations, as well as rights and duties of citizens, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, will be effected strictly in accordance with a number of articles, the law on the state of emergency and other operating laws."]

Under presidential powers, the following measures take effect from the moment of the introduction of the state of emergency: The powers of the National Council are turned over to the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan; the operation of a number of articles of the Constitution is restricted or suspended in accordance with the law on the state of emergency; special courts of security and armed forces will be operating in accordance with the provision of the existing laws and the provision of the law on the council of defense.

[TASS adds: "The country and the Afghan people are faced with a great historic trial, the decree says. All the Afghans, regardless of their political views and nationality, must undergo this trial selflessly and establish peace, accord and national reconciliation in the Afghan land.

The state of emergency is a temporary and enforced measure. It is introduced solely for the purpose of protecting the motherland, ensuring peace and security in the country.

["A decree of the president of the Republic of Afghanistan under which some changes are made in the composition of Afghanistan's Council of Ministers has also been issued, the BAKHTAR news agency reports.

["Najibullah held meetings on Saturday with Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq, with his deputies and members of the government. Questions connected with the situation within and around Afghanistan, with the tasks of the cabinet of ministers in the present conditions were discussed."]

Situation in Kabul Following Emergency Decree

LD1802183489 Moscow World Service in English
1700 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Afghanistan is reported to have declared a state of emergency. A government spokesman said the authorities had to adopt the action following the escalation of subversion by certain rebel groups. A UPI report from Kabul says reinforced army units are patrolling the streets of the Afghan capital and tanks and armored vehicles have been placed near key facilities and at crossroads.

LD1902125989 Moscow World Service in English
1200 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] Following the introduction of a state of emergency in Afghanistan, the situation in its capital, Kabul, is reported to be calm. Our correspondent reports the course of life in the city is as usual. Despite this additional Army units were moved into Kabul last night, and reinforced patrols with tanks and armoured vehicles were mounted at crossroads and key points, including outside foreign embassies.

The irreconcilable part of the opposition is trying to aggravate the situation in the country. The BAKHTAR news agency says that more than 100 kg of explosives have been discovered in one of Kabul's districts. The cities of Jalalabad, Herat, Gardeyz, and Ghazni have been shelled.

According to Radio Kabul five civilians were killed and another four wounded.

The opposition is receiving arms from abroad, including the United States, although this violates the Geneva accords. Armed tribal formations ready to invade Afghanistan have been concentrated on Pakistan's border with Afghanistan.

Patrolled by Government Troops

LD2002010489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer Bezyayev] Aleksandr Shkirando, our correspondent in Kabul, reported the following today:

[Begin Shkirando recording] Kabul has been in the position of a frontline city for several years now. Starting today, however, both the Afghan capital and the country as a whole have entered a new period in connection with the introduction of a state of emergency. The streets and squares of Kabul, the international airport, and indeed all state and public buildings are under the guard of Afghanistan's Armed Forces. As was announced yesterday in President Najibullah's decree, the state of emergency is being introduced with the aim of defending the achievements of the policy of national reconciliation and of ensuring order in the country in line with Article 143 of the Constitution. Thus, observance of the provisions of the law on the state of emergency and the law on the country's Supreme Council of Defense is becoming the principal obligation of all citizens of Afghanistan these days. Starting today, the powers of the National Assembly are transferred to the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan. The effect of a number of articles in the Constitution is restricted or suspended, in line with the law on the state of emergency.

As far as the situation in Kabul is concerned, it is completely normal. All the enterprises and academic institutions are operating as usual, and the traders' shops are open. The only thing that is graphically obvious is that there is not much traffic in the city streets. This is a result of the economic blockade which the extremists imposed for several days, as well as of the attacks and plundering carried out on columns on the Hayratan-Kabul highway. In recent days, however, this important main road has once again been opened to traffic. The introduction of the state of emergency, which stipulates fairly harsh measures, will—one would think—help to establish peace and order in Afghanistan. [end recording]

[Bezyayev] It so happened that only a few days ago I met the last of our soldiers leaving the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan at the border. I saw the beginning of that road from Hayratan to Kabul, the road which is used for the cargoes. I also saw Commander Gromov's moving meeting with his son; he was one of the last to come out. I saw the happy faces of those meeting their relatives, and I saw those who were not to meet their sons. Today, 19 February, is also a sort of conclusion: Exactly 10 days ago the last Soviet soldier died in Afghanistan while fulfilling his internationalist duty. The Soviet people have paid very dearly for the sovereignty of the neighboring country. Yet now it is threatened with danger once again. I have seen for myself the scale of the economic and military aid which we have rendered and are rendering to Afghanistan.

Judging by events in recent months, the irreconcilable opposition has been unable to conduct a single major operation, and the government troops have successfully resisted. The Afghan Government now possesses an army of half a million, including the troops of the Ministries of Internal Affairs and State Security, and the defenders of the revolution. They have modern Soviet equipment in sufficient quantities, so the revolution can and must stand up for itself.

It will be a different matter, however, if another armed force from outside, a regular force, intervenes in the present, already complex situation. Such a threat does exist. In my opinion, if this happens it will not simply be a political error, it will be something greater, with far worse consequences than can possibly be imagined at the moment. The near future will show who is who, whose word can be trusted and whose cannot, and for whom the international agreement is just a scrap of paper. Well, in our time there is perhaps nothing more powerful than world public opinion. It is impossible to get away or hide from it. Sometimes it exerts a greater influence on politics than several ministries of foreign affairs. One must not forget this.

Food Consignment Delivered to Kabul

LD1702194789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 17 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A consignment of food has been delivered to Kabul from the USSR under the program for emergency aid to Afghanistan through the United Nations. [video shows correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando—identified by caption— talking to camera in a street]

[Shkirando] Under a UN decision, many members of this international organization were due to begin such aid several months ago. However, this did not take place, and the food situation in the Afghan capital has been deteriorating all the time. The situation has been intensified by the economic blockade that has been established by the extremists.

Unfortunately, a number of UN members, especially Pakistan, instead of assisting the population of Kabul, which finds itself in a difficult situation, are intensively opposing the provision of aid to the Afghan population. At the same time, these countries are attempting to draw the United Nations into the economic blockading of Kabul. Our country is making a maximum effort to foil the blockade. [video shows Kabul street scenes; interview with R.I. Kuprevich, USSR trade representative in the Republic of Afghanistan—caption gives name and post]

[Begin recording] [Kuprevich] The participation of the Soviet Union in the international program of assistance to Afghanistan through the United Nations is of exceptionally important significance. It is well known that the Soviet Union's contribution to this program is valued at over \$600 million. Literally over the past few days we have completed deliveries, and handed over to the Afghans for the UN emergency aid program, food and other goods amounting to over \$165 million. We have also handed over 14 installation sites which are now ready to receive refugees and people, or to be used for various other purposes. Yesterday, the first convoy of trucks carrying aid under the United Nations program let (Hairaton) for Kabul.

[Shkirando] What are they carrying?

[Kuprevich] Wheat, sugar, and salt have been dispatched to Kabul on these trucks. In all there are about 340 tonnes of these products. We are expecting the arrival of this convoy in Kabul in the near future. Four aircraft have delivered 75 tonnes of wheat flour to Kabul from the Soviet Union as a Soviet contribution to the program of emergency aid to Afghanistan through the United Nations. [end recording] [video shows interview with Kh.A. Taeb, deputy minister of the light and foodstuffs industry of the republic of Afghanistan—caption gives name and post]

[Begin Taeb in vernacular, fading into superimposed Russian translation] On behalf of all of Kabul's inhabitants, I express sincere gratitude to our northern neighbor for this food aid, which is very needed at this difficult time, and which is being provided both on a bilateral basis as well as through the United Nations. The Soviet Union is thereby once again confirming not in words but in deed that it has always been and will be a loyal friend of the Afghan people. [end recording]

Afghanistan Military Situation Reported

PM2002170789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[D. Meshchaninov report: "Alarming Days"]

[Text] A state of emergency is in force on the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Kabul Radio broadcast an announcement that President Najibullah has created a new organ of government for Afghanistan—a supreme military council for the defense of the motherland. It includes the ministers of defense and internal and foreign affairs, a number of other members of the government, and the supreme military command of the country's armed forces. Speaking at the first session of the military council, FRANCE-PRESSE reports, Najibullah spoke highly of the armed forces' role in the life of Afghanistan.

Afghan Foreign Minister Wakil stated in an interview with the BBC in Kabul that the newly created organ would coordinate the military, economic, and political activity of government forces, but has not taken a step toward establishing military rule in Afghanistan, inasmuch as the civilian government is continuing its activity.

The minister announced that government forces have detained a large number of saboteurs from Hekmatyar and Rabbani's parties over the last few days and have also seized a tonne of explosives.

UPI reports from Kabul citing local inhabitants, as well as Soviet and other diplomatic sources in the Afghan capital, as saying that the intensive dispatch of Hekmatyar and Rabbani fighters into the city is now in progress.

Britain's **NEWS OF THE WORLD** claims that the "armed opposition has surrounded virtually all the major Afghan cities." Citing statements by Pakistan-based opposition spokesmen, UPI reports the mujahidin's seizure of Tarin Kowt, the center of Oruzgan Province.

Britain's **THE SUNDAY TIMES** correspondent in Peshawar writes: "The leaders of the Afghan fighters are resisting pressure from the Pakistani military to launch an offensive on Jalalabad." Many of them don't want this since their friends and relatives live in the city.

A **SUNDAY TELEGRAPH** correspondent also expresses doubts in a report on preparations for storming Jalalabad as to the mujahidin's ability to carry out such an operation. He explains this, in particular, by citing acute tribal disagreements between the various groupings.

Serious contradictions at all levels of the armed opposition are continuing to worsen.

According to a TASS report from Islamabad, a new flare-up of discord between Afghan opposition groupings of various orientations has paralyzed the work of the so-called consultative council (shura) convened by oppositionists in the Pakistani city of Rawalpindi. The moderate parties' representatives have once again left the conference hall as a sign of protest at the composition of the "transitional government" headed by the extremists' protege, Ahmad Shah.

The situation in Afghanistan remains tense. The opposition is still being supplied with huge quantities of weapons, explosives, and munitions by their Western patrons. Thus, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker confirmed the U.S. Administration's intention to continue military aid to Afghan opposition armed formations.

In the last 24 hours Afghan Army subunits carried out an operation to eliminate an armed opposition formation in Parvan Province. **BAKHTAR** reported that 16 extremists were killed and a considerable quantity of weapons seized in the course of the hostilities.

Government troops have carried out a successful attack on a rebel position in Nangarhar Province. Artillery exchanges continued in the area around Qandahar Airport.

Kabul security service staffers have averted a terrorist act. They have defused 20 kg of explosive and several mines in a densely populated area of the capital.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent Notes 205, 206, 207, and 208 to the UN observers' mission in Kabul, citing new instances of Pakistani breaches of the terms of the Geneva agreements.

Afghan President Najibullah has sent messages to the leaders of China, India, Cuba, Zimbabwe, the EEC countries, and a number of international organizations

asking for assistance in an Afghan settlement. The documents point out that Soviet troops have left Afghanistan in strict accordance with the terms of the Geneva agreements; however, the opposing side—Pakistan and the United States—not only are not observing the spirit and letter of Geneva, but are also expanding the scale of their interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign state.

Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil has sent a similar message to the foreign ministers of Islamic Conference Organization countries.

Further on Military Situation

*PM1802191489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Roundup by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and TASS correspondent Yu. Tyssovskiy in Kabul under general heading "Afghanistan: Extinguishing the Flames of Conflict": "Urgent Assistance Needed, But Not Weapons"]

[Text] The White House has confirmed its receipt of a message from M.S. Gorbachev calling for an end to American military aid to the Afghan opposition, REUTER reports. However, an administration spokesman stated that "U.S. policy remains unchanged."

WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY M. Fitzwater told journalists that "the U.S. opinion on the Afghan question remains unchanged." "We should," he noted, "give military aid to the mujahidin as long as Moscow gives such aid to the Kabul government."

Talking with reporters on board a USAF plane en route from Saint Louis, where G. Bush was, M. Fitzwater stated that the President has not yet had time to carefully study the message, which arrived on Friday morning, and he has not yet replied.

FROM KABUL REUTER reports: Afghan President Najibullah stated that his government is prepared to return to the USSR all the weapons that were needed for defense against the rebels, if the opposition forces also get rid of their arms.

In an interview for the American company NBC Najibullah called on the American people to stop supplying lethal weapons to Afghanistan, and to send economic aid to the country instead.

"The people of Afghanistan need sympathy and economic support, not bombs and rifles," Najibullah said in the television interview. Speaking in English, REUTER reports, the Afghan president called on Americans to help the people of Afghanistan to create a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous society, not to kindle fratricidal war.

IT IS NECESSARY TO CREATE conditions, in line with the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements, that will enable the Afghans to decide the question of their future destiny and ensure peace and stability in their

native land, says a report by a UN good offices mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan that UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar sent to the UN Security Council on 17 February. At this stage the question of further steps in this sphere should be resolved by the Afghans themselves. The world community's attention will be focused increasingly on the efforts of Afghans to create a broad-based government.

Now that important steps have been taken to fulfill the Geneva agreements, the report of the good offices mission stresses, in order to promote steady progress toward peace in Afghanistan all interested parties must strictly fulfill their commitments.

While the world community is taking steps to promote a peaceful settlement of the conflict, the power struggle is intensifying within the armed opposition's own camp.

AHMAD SHAH'S CANDIDACY for the post of head of the "mujahidin transitional government" is absolutely unacceptable. Sayyed Ahmad Gaylani, leader of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, made a statement to that effect on behalf of moderate Afghan opposition groupings at the consultative council ("shura") taking place in the Pakistani city of Rawalpindi. Sebg-hatullah Mojadeddi, leader of the Front for National Salvation of Afghanistan and current chairman of the "Seven," had earlier declared a boycott of any government headed by Ahmad Shah, placeman of the extremist wing of the "Alliance of Seven."

Representatives of the "Alliance of Eight," based in Iran, continue to refuse categorically to take part in the "shura," demanding compliance with an agreement with the "Alliance of Seven" concluded on the eve of the convocation of the consultative council. Under this agreement, which was signed by the leaders of the "Alliance of Eight" and the "Alliance of Seven," the "Eight" should receive 100 places on the "shura." The fulfillment of the agreement was thwarted by extremists headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, whom some opposition figures openly call a henchman of the Pakistani special services.

As London's **FINANCIAL TIMES** stresses in this connection, "in the opinion of the majority of Western diplomats, the optimum solution for the opposition at the present moment would be to end the 'shura.'"

The newspaper reports that 220 of the 400 delegates to the "shura" who are still taking part in its work have signed a protest petition against the provisional government that the majority of fundamentalist leaders are trying to impose on them with the support of Pakistani military intelligence.

Meanwhile it is reported from Kabul that the situation remained calm on Friday. The military presence in the city and in the airport region is almost imperceptible, **REUTER** reports.

The Kabul-Hayratan highway remains open. In the last 24 hours some 100 state-owned and private trucks carrying food and fuel crossed the Salang Pass in the direction of Kabul.

MANY READERS of **IZVESTIYA** ask: What is life like at the Soviet Embassy in Kabul at the moment? The editorial office telephoned the Afghan capital.

There are 200 people remaining on the embassy territory today, a **TASS** correspondent told us. All our people who were formerly living in the city whose experience and knowledge cannot be spared have been transferred here, under the protection of the diplomatic mission. Everyone who passed through the hard school of work in Afghanistan was in danger of becoming a target for terrorists from among the "irreconcilables" or being hit in a rebel rocket attack. But, to the honor of our diplomats, trade mission staffers, and specialists, it must be said that the most difficult situations never once caused panic or confusion.

However, while the situation was difficult before, now it is extreme [ekstremalnyy]. The armed opposition is trying to starve out the inhabitants of a city of more than 2 million, stepping up the rocket shellings of the capital again, and seeking to provoke disorders. That is why, for the embassy leadership, questions of ensuring the safety of Soviet people come first today. Numbers in the Soviet colony have now been reduced considerably. All the people are living in well-appointed apartments on embassy territory. Questions of food supplies and many other domestic problems have been resolved. Shelters have been prepared for people in case of shelling.

But of course, problems remain, from the cleaning of the territory to the checking of firefighting equipment. Every diplomat, every trade mission worker, engineer, and technician has to do the work of three, or even four. The clicking of typewriters can still be heard in the offices of the embassy building, but it is no longer the machinegun salvos of professional typists. Most of the women have returned home, and today the concept of "typist-diplomat" carries a very high value in the embassy.

There are six of us journalists left, and despite the difficult conditions, we will continue to inform the Soviet people about how events are developing in Afghanistan.

Latest

BAKHTAR reports that formations of the irreconcilable opposition shelled the city of Herat on Friday. Extremists also shelled the security posts of government troops in the provinces of Parvan, Nangarhar, and Qandahar. Afghan Army subunits carried out retaliatory strikes at rebel bases in Parvan. Sixteen oppositionists were killed and 12 wounded. In response to the shelling of Qandahar airport, an artillery strike was carried out on a region with a concentration of extremist detachments in Daman District. The enemy lost 19 men.

According to reports received by BAKHTAR, armed tribal formations of Pakistani militias are again preparing for a direct invasion of the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan in the region of Khowst District. Some 650 militia fighters with armored hardware were urgently shipped to the Afghan-Pakistani border. A high-ranking officer in Pakistani military intelligence, General Aman, was sent to Afghanistan to coordinate opposition operations in Khowst District and in the district of Jaji Meydan in Paktia Province.

Afghan Rebel Military Actions Detailed

LD1902090589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0720 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 19 Feb (TASS)—In the past 24 hours formations of the irreconcilable opposition have subjected the towns of Jalalabad, Herat, Gardeyz, and Ghazni to missile attacks. One person was killed and five were injured. The extremists shelled security posts of the government's troops in Parwan Province. As the BAKHTAR news agency reported, four Afghan Army servicemen were killed and two were injured.

The Afghan artillery launched a counterattack on the rebels' bases in Parwan Province. Eighteen members of the opposition were killed and more than twenty were injured. The extremists suffered heavy losses in Qandahar and Herat Provinces. During military operations a large quantity of arms and ammunition were seized.

The security bodies prevented a terrorist act in Kabul. According to a BAKHTAR report, they discovered over 100 kg of explosives in one of the districts of the Afghan capital.

A state of emergency is effect in Afghanistan from today. Security posts made up of Army subunits, reinforced by mechanized infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers, have been positioned on the streets and crossroads of the Afghan capital.

Vorontsov Holds New Delhi News Conference

Denounces Pakistani Interference

LD1702175189 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] New Delhi February 17 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, in India on the instruction of the Soviet leadership for consultations with the Indian Government leaders in connection with the new situation in Afghanistan following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, gave a news conference on Friday.

Vorontsov, who is also the Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, stated that all conditions had been created for the solution of internal Afghan problems by the Afghans themselves without any outside interference.

The importance of the change of the situation in Afghanistan is realised by far from everyone either in Afghanistan, among the rival groups, or in neighbouring countries and the world as a whole.

"One should understand that the Afghans themselves can reach agreement to prevent all outside interference in their affairs," the Soviet official said.

"The Soviet troops have been pulled out of Afghanistan. But that does not mean that someone else can send there its troops."

The first deputy minister observed that the recent reports about the entry of Pakistani troops into the Jalalabad region, which corresponded to reality, caused serious anxiety in Afghanistan.

Pakistani military equipment, including artillery systems serviced by Pakistani military personnel, is being moved towards Jalalabad. A rather disquieting situation has developed.

"It is important to understand that the Afghans can resolve their disputes by peaceful means now," he said.

The Afghan Government repeatedly expressed its readiness to conduct such talks, reach a compromise and create a broad-based government with the participation of all political forces.

It has already established certain contacts and is conducting very serious discussions with the leaders of some opposition groups.

"We hope that these discussions will bring about truly national talks on establishing a broad-based government," Vorontsov said. "The most important thing now is to achieve the immediate cessation of armed struggle and senseless bloodshed."

The Soviet official denounced plans of establishing a Pakistani-Afghan confederation aimed at depriving Afghanistan of its independence, and warned that the Soviet Union would not remain indifferent to the Afghan people's fate.

The international public should display utmost vigilance, taking into account the fact that certain forces are banking on launching bloodshed in Afghanistan, he said.

Reports Kabul-Rebel 'Dialogue'

OW2002092189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2330 GMT 19 Feb 89

[From the Novosti newscast; B.Levchenko video report]

[Text] Comrade Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, held a press conference in New Delhi. [no date as heard]

[Levchenko] Both Indian and foreign journalists accredited in New Delhi showed a particular interest in this press conference. [video shows press conference in progress, Vorontsov seated with several unidentified officials, room filled with journalists]

This was attested to by the packed conference room and the numerous questions asked by the journalists. They were interested in everything: Is it true that the last Soviet soldier has left Afghanistan within the time agreed to in the Geneva accord? What did the Soviet representative and Indian Prime Minister speak about? What is the attitude of the Soviet leadership regarding the former Afghan king, and what is the situation in Kabul?

It was a serious discussion and it appeared that the journalists were pleased with the scope and quality of the information received. In particular, Comrade Vorontsov informed the journalists that presently a serious political dialogue is taking place between representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan and several opposition groups operating on Afghan territory, with the aim of achieving national reconciliation and putting an end to the bloodshed. At this stage the sides would prefer not to make public the content or the specific participants in these talks.

Comrade Vorontsov appealed to the representatives of the press to make a contribution, by means of the mass media, to the cause of establishing peace in Afghanistan and rendering what is extraordinarily needed at this moment—that is, humanitarian aid, to the people of this country.

Urges Peaceful Afghan Settlement

*LD1802181789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 18 Feb 89*

[From the "International Diary" program; presented by Georgiy Alekseyev]

[Text] The topic of Afghanistan will be covered by our Delhi correspondent Georgiy Kirichatyy. He reports on the press conference Vorontsov, USSR First deputy foreign minister, the ambassador of the Soviet Union to the Republic of Afghanistan, gave in the Indian capital:

[Kirichatyy] Since 15 February not a single soldier has remained on Afghan soil. This has changed the situation in Afghanistan itself, the situation in this region, and the overall international situation a great deal, Comrade Vorontsov said.

He drew attention to the Afghan leadership's anxiety in connection with the concentration of subunits of the Pakistani Armed Forces in the area of Jalalabad, and also to the statement by the Pakistani president regarding a so-called confederation.

The Afghans, and only they themselves, must resolve their problems, Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov stressed, and resolve them by exclusively peaceful means at the negotiating table. For this today, he noted, all possibilities exist.

At the press conference it was stressed that the main thing today is a cease-fire, a cessation of military operations, and the formation of a broad-based coalition government that would be made up of representatives of all political parties.

It is necessary to understand that the PDPA is an influential political force in the country, enjoying the support of a considerable proportion of the Afghans. Excluding it from the political process, the more so when resolving questions connected with the future of Afghanistan, is nothing other than an effort to ignore reality.

Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov stressed that the international community must assist the soonest possible return of peace to Afghanistan and the creation of favorable conditions for the formation of a broad-based government.

East Europe

CSSR's Adamec, Delegation Conclude Visit

'Cordial' Talks With Gorbachev

*LD1702170289 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT
17 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev received today the Czechoslovak prime minister, Ladislav Adamec, in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit.

Adamec informed the Soviet leader about progress in the overall restructuring of Czechoslovak society centred around economic reform.

The 10th Plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee decided to speed up transition to new forms of economic management.

"This is not simple, but we have no other way to resolve overdue economic and social problems," said the head of the Czechoslovak Government.

"Work has simultaneously been started on the 9th Five-Year Plan that will be directed at eliminating bottlenecks in the national economy and increasing its efficiency."

Gorbachev described problems handled at the current stage of the perestroika, or restructuring, drive in the Soviet Union.

"It is our principal objective to enhance the people's social activity," he said. "Politics is becoming in this country a matter of the entire population."

"The current election campaign has given a powerful impetus to the process of democratisation. As to the economy, our course is to raise the welfare of the people and comprises two basic elements—restructuring relations of ownership and scientific and technological progress," Gorbachev remarked.

"Much attention was given to that at the recent meeting with workers at the party Central Committee and at the Politburo's meeting with the participation of party and state leaders from the union republics.

There have emerged a number of promising technological projects, there are encouraging examples of work organised in a new way.

The discussion naturally moved to questions of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation. Both countries possess a powerful scientific and technological potential, and cooperation in this sphere can benefit them greatly.

The opportunities for that are not used sufficiently so far. "So let us think and act together" such was the common conclusion drawn by the interlocutors.

The sides exchanged views on other topical issues related to the development of the allied countries, their further all-round cooperation in the economy and politics.

The conversation was held in a cordial comradely atmosphere.

Ryzhkov, Others Receive Adamec

PM2002090989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Resolve To Strengthen Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czechoslovak Government, now on an official friendly visit to Moscow, held negotiations in the Kremlin on 17 February.

Taking part in the talks on the Soviet side were Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.S. Belousov and I.S. Silayev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; I.P. Aboymov, deputy foreign minister; and V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

On the Czechoslovak side were P. Hrivnak, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Government and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development; B. Urban, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Government and chairman of the CSSR

Gosplan; J. Obzina, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Government and permanent representative of the CSSR to CEMA; and I. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

The heads of government comprehensively discussed matters of deepening Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation.

They had a substantive exchange of information on processes of restructuring and democratization in all areas of social life in both countries and the course of socioeconomic transformations.

Ways to increase the efficiency of Soviet-Czechoslovak economic interaction, topical questions of trade and economic relations, and development of scientific-technological cooperation in the current 5-year period of 1991-1995 were considered, allowing for the new conditions arising in both countries in connection with the implementation of economic reform and the transfer of enterprises and organizations to the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing. The importance of collective work by all member-countries of CEMA, aimed at improving the mechanism of socialist integration, was noted.

During a conversation on issues of specific cooperation, great attention was devoted to nature conservation problems, and concrete steps were agreed upon in connection with preparations for a CSSR Government-proposed meeting of representatives of a number of European countries on questions of ecology.

In exchanging opinions on international matters, the two sides reaffirmed full identity of views in assessing the situation in Europe and the world. The two heads of government came out in favor of further deepening the process of disarmament, and invigorating the collective search for ways to relax international tension and consolidate universal peace and security.

Also on Friday, Nikolay Ryzhkov and Ladislav Adamec signed a concept for economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia for 15-20 years. An agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on cooperation in environmental protection was also signed by Fedor Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Protection, and Pavel Hrivnak.

Ladislav Adamec, head of the CSSR Government, visited the mausoleum of V.I. Lenin and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

News Conference on Talks

LD1802000989 Prague CTK in English 2043 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow Feb 17 (CTK correspondent)—Today's talks between Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec and his Soviet partner Nikolay Ryzhkov were frank, instructive and useful for both sides, Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban told a press conference here today.

He said that the talks were dominated by a long-range conception of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries for 15 to 20 years and the coordination of goods exchange for the next five-year plan period.

Bohumil Urban said that Czechoslovakia is interested mainly in Soviet raw materials supplies. The two parties agreed that supplies of Soviet oil to Czechoslovakia will gradually decrease with regard of the USSR's possibilities and that exports of Soviet natural gas will increase at the same time. The Soviet Union is interested in supplies of selected kinds of machinery and equipment, particularly for the light industry, and in Czechoslovak consumer goods. During the talks between the two countries' prime ministers the ways were found ensuring that the mutual goods exchange would not drop in the years 1991-1995 and that cooperation would successfully develop.

Ladislav Adamec asked the Soviet side to make it possible to convey Iranian natural gas across Soviet territory to Czechoslovakia, Bohumil Urban said. This matter will be assessed mainly from the technical point of view within a few months.

The Soviet side took note of the fact that supplies of Czechoslovak uranium to the Soviet Union will gradually drop due to the decrease in the effectiveness of uranium production in Czechoslovakia, geological difficulties as well as ecological issues.

Czechoslovak First Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Hrivnak said that the agreement on Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in environmental protection does not concentrate only on the scientific-technological sphere but concerns also cooperation in education. It also provides for mutual assistance in case of breakdowns on either Czechoslovak or Soviet territory, with special attention paid to the situation in border areas.

He expressed the conviction that Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec's initiative to discuss protection of the environment with the neighbouring countries' prime ministers will result in building a joint industry for the environment.

Answering journalists' questions, Bohumil Urban said that Premier Ladislav Adamec proposed during his talks with Nikolay Ryzhkov to convene a meeting of the two countries' experts in financing, banking and credits, who would work out proposals for a speedy creation of such economic conditions that could be applied in the whole scope of mutual trade.

Speaking of integration projects, Bohumil Urban said that the participation in some of them is now being revised. In March and April it will be decided which individual integration projects are to be continued and under which terms, and which are to be limited or stopped.

Answering another question, Bohumil Urban said that the Czechoslovak Government intends to transfer the 20,000 members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, by which the number of the country's Armed Forces will be reduced, to military building organizations. The Czechoslovak Government also plans gradual limitation or discontinuance of production in military plants. The production in these plants will be substituted by civilian programs within one to three years, he said.

Further on News Conference

PM2002123989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] At a 17 February Moscow news conference P. Hrivnak and B. Urban, first deputy chairmen of the CSSR Government, expressed satisfaction with the course of the Czechoslovak-Soviet talks.

Each country's economic management and the attainment of definite program targets, B. Urban pointed out, necessitate the elaboration of long-term lines of development. This thesis was crucial in preparing a concept for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between our countries for the next 15-20 years.

P. Hrivnak dwelt on the agreement on bilateral cooperation in the sphere of environmental conservation that will be signed in the course of the visit. This document, he pointed out, provides for USSR-CSSR collaboration in obtaining and introducing ecologically safe technologies and in developing new instruments and materials.

The CSSR delegation members announced their government's intention to transfer to military construction organizations the 20,000 servicemen liable to discharge in connection with the recent decision; this is so they can be used, in particular, for reconstructing old cities.

Ryzhkov, Adamec Speak at Dinner

PM2002162789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on the 17 February Kremlin dinner hosted by the USSR Government in honor of visiting CSSR Premier L. Adamec: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] A dinner was given on 17 February on behalf of the USSR Government in the Great Kremlin Palace in honor of Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and premier of the CSSR Government. Attending with the guest were the Czechoslovak officials accompanying him on his trip.

On the Soviet side were Nikolay Ryzhkov; Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Nikolay Talyzin, Igor Belousov, Ivan Silayev, and Boris Tolstyykh, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; the heads of a number of ministries and departments, and other officials.

Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, made a speech at the dinner. He said:

Esteemed Comrade Ladislav Adamec! Esteemed comrades!

On behalf of the Soviet leadership I cordially welcome Comrade Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR Government premier, who has come here on an official friendly visit, and I welcome all the Czechoslovak comrades.

We are meeting at a very dynamic time, when social progress in our countries is increasingly defined by socialist renewal at many levels.

Relatively recently, Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly endorsed a new government program. The ideas and decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, which announced a drive to accelerate the country's social and economic development, were embodied in this document in specific terms. We in the Soviet Union are following the efforts of our Czechoslovak friends to solve current economic, political, and social problems with great attention and with a feeling of solidarity.

With all the specific features of the situation in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, there are common and uniting features in the activity of the Communist Parties of our countries and the growing creative energy of their peoples. These include the desire to truly reveal the potential of the socialist system and to direct it toward satisfying the pressing requirements of millions of people.

We also have something in common in our methods of achieving the objectives set. The 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress, having objectively and critically analyzed the state of political life and the economic situation, laid the foundation for in-depth economic, political, and social reforms, the success of which depends to a definitive degree on extensive public initiative and the conscious, creative participation of the working people in this work of transformation.

By consistently developing and deepening restructuring, the CPSU has embarked on implementing a fundamental reform of the political system, which fully guarantees the people's power and assertion of a socialist, law-governed state.

History knows no examples of a society making a transition to a qualitatively new phase in its development smoothly and easily. Overcoming the inertia of the past, rejecting entrenched stereotypes, implementing new thinking and the new methods of practical work appropriate to it—all these are far from simple tasks. Moreover, they do not exhaust the gamut of vital issues.

In the atmosphere of an intense, creative search, the mutual exchange of experience has all the more significance. It enriches us and helps us to better and more

profoundly understand the essence of the processes taking place, and to find effective and mutually beneficial solutions to matters of cooperation. Your conversation today, Comrade Premier, with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and the talks that passed in a spirit of frankness and total mutual understanding, serve as convincing evidence of this.

We have on several occasions had the opportunity to convince ourselves of the staunchness of the foundations of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship. Their roots lie in history and in the depths of the people's memory, in mutual trust and respect and fraternal solidarity. We were able to sense this once again in the days of the disaster that struck Armenia, when the Czechoslovak people hastened to aid the afflicted. There, in Armenia, we were witnesses to how selflessly Czechoslovak rescue workers, doctors, firemen, and construction workers helped overcome the aftermath of the tragedy. We thank them and all the fraternal Czechoslovak people with all our hearts for seeing our grief as their own, relieving our pain, and providing such great and needed assistance.

Today, when an extensive range of bilateral issues is under examination, we have noted with full justification the staunchness of our alliance and have had occasion once again to evaluate the degree of unanimity and profound mutual understanding that has developed between the Central Committees of the CPSU and the CPCZ and between our governments.

At the same time we see that the crucial nature and scale of the tasks facing both countries at the present stage of their development and during the new historic phase in the development of socialism, demand of us new approaches and an increase in the role of cooperation in the social and economic development of our countries.

We have thoroughly and objectively analyzed the situation in the sphere of bilateral ties and, in accordance with agreements reached during meetings and conversations at summit level, have sought ways of strengthening our ties and making them more efficient. Not all the problems can be solved at once, but the directions and fundamental approaches of further work have been determined, on the basis of which mutually acceptable decisions may be found in the future.

For our part we have been striving to organically combine the work we are doing in the Soviet Union with the strengthening of our interaction in key branches of industry, in the development of new science-intensive forms of output, and in increasing its technical standards and quality. On this basis we will be able to develop our trade and expand our cooperation.

We share the opinion that it is necessary to concentrate the efforts of both sides in the promising technological directions connected with the restructuring of the national economies of the USSR and Czechoslovakia and to organize production links on the basis of a series of projects being worked out in the framework of the all-embracing program for scientific and technical

progress of the CEMA countries. All this demands a fuller use of resources, the deepening of specialization and coproduction in the leading branches of industry, and more extensive implementation of new forms of cooperation.

By realistically evaluating the present stage in the development of socialist integration and realizing economic reforms in our countries, one cannot help but see that consistent advances, step by step, in creating economic conditions for the assimilation of new forms of cooperation, including the establishment of joint enterprises and the development of direct production links, have special significance. The direction of joint activities in this area, combined with the activities of other socialist countries, was defined in the decisions of the last CEMA sessions, and for all of us a great amount of work still lies ahead to improve the mechanism of cooperation. The difficulties arising here are not insurmountable, just as the processes of integration reflect the objective patterns of contemporary production, and these will deepen and grow.

Socialist construction in our countries, restructuring, and renewal are taking place under conditions of deep and positive changes in international life. In essence, these two series of phenomena are interconnected, since they are being nourished by elements of the new thinking, the most consistent expression of which is the strategy of restructuring.

Under its influence the new practice of international relations is gradually beginning to assert itself in the world and outdated conceptions and doctrines are becoming obsolete. An open dialogue, the objective of which is solving existing problems by political means on the basis of a balance of interests, is developing between states with different social systems.

The successful completion of the Vienna meeting is an important result of the collective efforts of the European states. We regard the results of this as a point of departure that takes the Helsinki process to a new level. Favorable conditions are being created for embarking on the construction of a common European home on a wider front.

The decisions of the USSR, the CSSR, and other allied countries to unilaterally reduce their armed forces, armaments, and military spending, and the decision to withdraw part of the Soviet troops from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary are unprecedented in their significance for strengthening confidence and security and lowering military confrontation in Europe. These measures convincingly demonstrate the goodwill of the member-states of the Warsaw Pact and their desire to facilitate the achievement of mutually acceptable accords at the forthcoming talks on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. One would like to hope that the NATO countries, too, will display a similar readiness.

In light of the Vienna accords, the initiatives of the socialist countries for strengthening peace and developing mutually advantageous links in Europe, including the CSSR proposal known as the Jakes plan for setting up a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, are resounding in a new way. The CSSR proposal that a meeting be convened between the heads of government of the countries bordering Czechoslovakia to discuss questions of ecological security is highly topical under the conditions of the constantly deteriorating state of the environment on our continent. We support that proposal and are willing to participate actively in implementing it. Also worthy of serious attention are the ideas of the Czechoslovak side about uniting the efforts of a number of countries in the development and production of technological systems and equipment for the protection of the environment.

In conclusion, permit me to wish you, Comrade Adamec, and the Government of Czechoslovakia, further successes in implementing the socialist program of economic and political reforms.

We wish peace, prosperity, and all-round progress to the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

Ladislav Adamec then delivered a speech. He said:

Esteemed Comrade Ryzkhov! Esteemed comrades!

Not even 4 months have passed since our last meeting. This period has been taken up with implementing the difficult goals of social restructuring, of serious decisions, tests, and the search and accumulation of valuable experience.

It is gratifying that the intention of resolving problems jointly, conducting specific talks, and meeting regularly is being implemented. Not everything has gone smoothly. Although certain new issues have emerged in the development of affairs, we have managed to take a great step forward in the main areas. Behind us is a period of businesslike activeness. The concept for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR over 15-20 years, and a bilateral agreement between the Governments of the CSSR and the USSR on cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection have been prepared and signed. A protocol has been signed on trade turnover in 1989. Efforts to establish direct links between enterprises are continuing. Work is continuing to coordinate the national economic plans for 1991-95, and on other issues.

At the November meeting I informed you about the difficulties of our economic position. We have chosen active, vigorous approaches to change this situation. The decision adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee and the federal government to accelerate the restructuring of the economic mechanism by 1 year has been an important step.

We are aware that many risks exist, but continuing with the former practices would be the greatest risk of all, not only economically but politically. The path of intensification gives rise to the need to resolve the threefold task of coordinating the introduction of a new management system with restructuring and with a broader involvement of our economy in the international division of labor. A determining role in resolving these strategic problems is played by our cooperation with the Soviet Union, which accounts for 44 percent of our foreign trade. We are interested in a more dynamic development of mutual economic cooperation. We must direct production and export toward goods with a high return of social labor, and toward peak output. Orientation toward quantitative aspects and growth in simple material volume continue to have extensive development. We cannot continue along this path. We have paid for following this path with stagnation, and in the future it will cost us even more.

We are interested in more flexible actions and a more vigorous removal of bureaucratic obstacles. We have already achieved the introduction of national currencies in payments involving direct links and the application of contractual prices. But we must go further, in particular in the application of cost relations, rates of exchange, and prices. We are proceeding from the premise that the checking of these new mechanisms could have a favorable effect on the work being carried out within CEMA.

We are viewing things realistically, soberly assessing the problems of today. We must put the unbalanced nature of payment relations in order. We are not satisfied with the effectiveness of certain joint projects, the low share of cooperation in overall trade, and the fact that only some one-third of contracts on direct links produce what is expected.

Also among the priorities is scientific and technical cooperation, where we are thinking about its management, its organization, its effects, and linking it with production. International cooperation is for us the only way of substantially refining our scientific research and enhancing its quality.

Meeting the needs of the country in terms of energy resources, which we get mainly from your country, is a fundamental matter. We realize that such a one-sided orientation will not be possible in the future.

It is not enough to have agreements at the central level. The center of cooperation will be transferred to the enterprises. The people of our countries no longer meet at joint meetings alone but also in production shops, design bureaus, and laboratories in resolving common tasks. Trade, production cooperation, and other forms of cooperation are constructed primarily on the basis of mutual advantage, economic interests, precise calculations, comparable technical parameters, and the fulfillment of agreed quality and time frames. We are sure that mutual exactingness, efficiency, frankness, and common

efforts to enhance the effectiveness of our relations today are inevitable prerequisites for consolidating and developing Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship.

We realize that economic reform cannot be carried out without political reform, without effective mechanisms throughout society. A fundamental issue is the interest of people in restructuring, and the effectiveness of incentives relating to labor and political activeness. We have enough decisions, meetings, measures, and policies, but things are not so good as far as practical results are concerned. The steel armor of formalism still operates.

Democratization of life in society is an integral part of the efforts directed at a qualitatively new level of socialism in our conditions, too. Therefore our society is following with interest the preparations for elections to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

We are striving to more fully utilize the opportunities of the socialist political system. Our efforts are directed at stimulating all those that make up the National Front, and the powers of national committees are being enhanced. We are in favor of open politics, broad glasnost, and an honest, sincere dialogue with all conscientious people. This CPCZ policy corresponds with its deep democratic, national, people's, and international traditions. Therefore the ideas of restructuring have fallen on very fertile soil in our country. However, there is also a good deal of temporizing, and there are people who are ill-disposed toward restructuring. Our party considers the attitude toward restructuring to be the main criterion of the work of every Communist and the measure of every citizen's patriotic approach. On the basis of the fundamentals of restructuring—and no others—we are struggling for a unity of ideas and actions in the party and unifying citizens for the purposes of executing the program of the National Front and the government.

We know that the success of restructuring depends on receiving the trust and support of all sectors. Many different ideas, right ones and one-sided ones, acceptable ones and unacceptable ones, arise in the quest for optimal approaches and practical ways of implementing it. Democratization creates conditions for the widest possible dialogue, as a result of which points of view, polemical stands, various recommendations, and interesting thoughts are cleared up. We support those who are working for a creative climate, who are promoting an orientation toward active patriotic efforts, and who are serving constructive goals. It is important that an exchange of views should assist in the social application of the people's abilities, should become a useful school for the application of civil rights and freedoms, and should enhance political standards.

Czechoslovakia is in the center of Europe; therefore our people know the value of peace and respect the consistent efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at consolidating peace. The implementation of new political thinking in international affairs has yielded real results in improving

the international climate. We fully support the foreign policy initiatives presented by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the United Nations. We are convinced that, thanks to the decision of the USSR and other socialist countries on the unilateral reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons—to which Czechoslovakia also made its contribution—new prospects open up before us in the process of detente, in the strengthening of trust between countries and peoples, and in solving the global problems of human civilization.

In accordance with our desire to boost security, we have proposed that a meeting be held in Prague between the heads of governments of the countries bordering on Czechoslovakia in order to exchange views on environmental protection in central Europe. We realize that we cannot come to that conference empty-handed. We cannot rely only on importing expensive desulphurization installations; we wish to tread the path of reducing power consumption, gradually restricting the capacity of thermal electric power stations, replacing brown coal with gas, and modernizing boiler equipment. In order to resolve these vitally important and capital-intensive questions, we suggest that efforts be pooled and, where necessary, joint enterprises be set up. We favor the devising of a multilateral environmental protection mechanism on an all-European scale.

The signing of an agreement between Governments of the CSSR and the USSR on environmental protection cooperation is seen by us as a specific manifestation of new ecological thinking. We regard it as a call for the accelerated specialization of a certain part of our capacities—machine-building, construction, and research capacities—in the sphere of ecological investment. We are confronted by the question of whether we can aim, within the CEMA framework, to create an "industry for ecology." I believe that, at least as far as water purity is concerned, we have certain traditions, experience, and technological prerequisites for that.

One of the undisputed advantages has always been the long-term stability of our mutual relations, which has created a favorable climate for the conceptual solution of even the most important questions. I wish to take advantage of this occasion to thank you, Nikolay Ivanovich, as well as other representatives of both countries who have facilitated the solving of several remaining questions in the sphere of metallurgy, machine-building, electrical engineering, the electronics industry, and so on.

I should also like to highly evaluate the opportunity of meeting Comrade Gorbachev, and to thank him for an interesting and stimulating conversation and for giving me valuable experience and creative drive.

I am convinced that the pace and results of our talks have helped deepen the relations of friendship between our peoples. We have prepared the conditions for a more

intensive development of our cooperation—in the interests of the peoples of both our countries and the cause of socialism, peace, and progress.

The speeches of Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov and L. Adamec were greeted with applause.

The dinner passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Joint Statement on Visit

PM1902192189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1, 4

[Unattributed "Joint Report on Results of Visit to USSR by L. Adamec, Member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR Premier"]

[Text] L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Government, was in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit 16-18 February 1989 at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received L. Adamec and had a conversation with him.

Questions of the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations as well as several international problems were discussed in the course of the talks between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and L. Adamec.

N.I. Ryzhkov spoke about the deep influence of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on the social and political life of the country, the processes of restructuring, and about how preparations for the election of people's deputies are proceeding. Measures to bring about economic reform, the switching of all branches of material production to the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing, and the ensuring of balance in the national economy were described in detail. Great attention was given to extending the participation of working people in the management of the affairs of society, the development of democratization, and the creation of a state based on the rule of law.

L. Adamec talked about the progress made in implementing the economic reform, the changes taking place in the political and public life of the CSSR, and the decisions of the December 1988 CPCZ Central Committee Plenum, which was an important stage in the implementation of the party's policy of restructuring and democratization. Priority attention is being given to carrying out the government's program statement of 8 November 1988, which was aimed at improving the machinery by which the economy is managed, raising its efficiency, and improving people's working and living conditions on that basis.

The sides noted that the understandings reached during the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and M. Jakes constituted an important landmark in strengthening the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, deepening and improving multifaceted Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation, and ensuring its progressive development on a long-term basis.

N.I. Ryzhkov expressed cordial gratitude to the leadership of the CSSR and to the entire Czechoslovak people for their great assistance to the population of Armenia, which suffered from the earthquake.

During the discussion of specific matters affecting economic, scientific, and technical links between the USSR and CSSR, it was stressed that the implementation of the concept of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR for 15-20 years, which was signed during the visit, will facilitate major structural improvements in production, the deepening of the processes of integration, and improvement of the international division of labor.

Much attention was paid to coordinating the plans for development of the national economies of the USSR and the CSSR for 1991-95, the state of trade and payment relations between the two countries, the further development of cooperation in machine-building, and enhancement of the technical standard and quality of output supplied by each side to the other. A thorough exchange of views took place on ways to increase the effectiveness of joint efforts to implement the comprehensive program for the scientific and technical progress of the CEMA countries up to the year 2000.

The heads of government stressed the importance of further work to improve the mechanism of bilateral economic cooperation. Having evaluated critically the state of development of new forms of economic ties, the sides paid particular attention to setting up more favorable organizational, currency, and financial conditions for interaction by Soviet and Czechoslovak enterprises and organizations.

The need for a further deepening of contacts in ideology, science, and culture was noted. The great importance of the program for ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ signed in Prague in November 1988, which created a good foundation for expanding ties in the spiritual sphere and for mutually enriching and drawing together the peoples of the two countries on the cultural plane, was stressed.

A discussion of international problems confirmed complete unity of views in assessments of the situation in Europe and the world. The heads of government spoke out in favor of further developing the process of real disarmament and of stepping up the collective search for ways to reduce international tension and strengthen general peace and security.

The participants in the talks appraise the results of the Vienna meeting as an undisputable success of the policy of restructuring in international affairs, as a point of departure for this qualitatively new stage of the development of the Helsinki process, and as a transition to more active construction of "the common European home." The sides believe it is necessary to work for a substantial and even reduction in the level of armed forces and conventional arms levels in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and attach great importance to the forthcoming talks in Vienna on this range of problems.

The USSR and CSSR will persistently strive to attain implementation of the peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states aimed at creating a climate of trust in Europe and at expanding close cooperation in all spheres. The Soviet side expressed readiness in the future, too, to actively promote the implementation of the Czechoslovak proposal put forward by M. Jakes on creating a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the territory along the line of contact of Warsaw Pact and NATO states. A positive appraisal has been given to the initiatives made by the CSSR Government aimed at developing international cooperation in the ecology sphere.

The USSR and CSSR confirmed their desire to actively further a political settlement of areas of tension and conflict in the world. The sides spoke for a speedy settlement of the situation in Afghanistan by establishing an intra-Afghan dialogue and by creating a broadly based, representative government with all the political forces and groupings participating.

The resolve to continue to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and to further improve their cooperation on the international arena in the interests of consolidating universal peace and security was expressed during the talks.

L. Adamec invited N.I. Ryzhkov to make an official friendly visit to the CSSR.

The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

An agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the CSSR on cooperation in environmental protection was signed during the visit.

The talks passed in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Taking part on the Soviet side were Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.S. Belousov and I.S. Silayev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; I.P. Aboymov, deputy foreign minister; and V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador in the CSSR; and on the Czechoslovak side: P. Hrivnak, first deputy premier of the Government of the CSSR and

chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development; B. Urban, first deputy premier of the Government of the CSSR and chairman of the State Planning Commission of the CSSR; J. Obzina, deputy premier of the Government of the CSSR and permanent representative of the Government of the CSSR at CEMA; and J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador in the USSR.

Visit to Electronics Enterprise

LD180214489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1300 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Ladislav Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government who is in the Soviet Union for an official friendly visit, today toured the Zelenograd district of the Soviet capital. In Zelenograd, which was founded as a satellite city of Moscow, he visited the Nauchnyi center, a scientific and production cooperative. The cooperative specializes in the production of integrated circuits and technological equipment. The Czechoslovak guests acquainted themselves with the history of the enterprise and its present production program.

During friendly talks with Vladislav Kolesnikov, minister of the electronics industry, and Yuriy Yakov, director general of the cooperative, the two sides exchanged views on the present state and prospects of cooperation between socialist countries in the electronics sphere. They spoke about possibilities of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, and in this context the Soviet side showed an interest in some Czechoslovak machines and equipment for the production of integrated circuits. [passage omitted]

Adamec Interviewed on Talks

LD1802212588 Prague Television Service in Czech
1830 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Interview with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec by unidentified correspondent in Moscow on 18 February—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Comrade Premier, yesterday you signed the draft of an economic and scientific-technical cooperation agreement for the next 15-20 years with Comrade Ryzhkov. Do you think this agreement creates the correct framework for development of economic cooperation leading to structural changes in our economy, and secures the flow of the necessary raw materials from the Soviet Union?

[Adamec] Before I answer this question I would like to say that in November last year, when I visited the Soviet Union, I asked Comrade Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for another such working meeting. This took place yesterday, practically 3 and 1/2 months after the last visit.

Yesterday's visit was of a purely business nature, and as you said, we signed two important documents. The first document is a draft of economic and scientific-technical

development for the next 15-20 years. It is a document we worked on a long time, several months. We worked on it at home, and the Soviet organs also worked on this document. I would like to thank in particular the representatives of Soviet organs, but also our workers for the great deal of work done, because yesterday it enabled us to approach the finale and sign the document. One advantage of this document is the fact that we agreed on basic questions which will have an influence on working out a future plan and draft. We have informed the Central Committee Presidium about the material; our government is discussing it in detail. Naturally it is open material which will demand the gradual evaluation of individual questions over each year, but the advantage is that it gives us firm foundations for working out the Ninth 5-Year Plan, and it also gives us certain possibilities for some basic answers that we did not have previously.

Naturally we get basic raw materials from the Soviet Union, and that is why there are questions of deliveries of gas, deliveries of crude oil, and other things which are decisive for us. We have reached agreement on these fundamental questions, and I think that in doing this we have created space to enable us to work very quickly on structural changes in our industry. As we have often emphasized, the present structure is not efficient and it is urgent that we change it. Yesterday's talks gave the best prerequisites for this.

[Correspondent] Comrade Premier, in less than 4 months you have had the opportunity to meet twice with the highest Soviet representative, Mikhail Gorbachev. What initiatives arose from this meeting, and how well-informed is Comrade Gorbachev about the situation in Czechoslovakia?

[Adamec] I was glad I had the opportunity to meet with Comrade Gorbachev yesterday. I conveyed to him greetings from our general secretary, Comrade Jakes, and appreciation of the fact that a conference of economic secretaries is called to meet in Prague. Comrade Gorbachev was very interested in restructuring in our country. He also has knowledge of our problems. As always, he spoke very openly about experiences in the Soviet Union, where there are also many problems. He informed me about the Wednesday session of the CPSU Central Committee Presidium, to which chairmen, leading secretaries, chairmen of parliaments of national organs were invited. The greatest complications at the present time are in the spheres of agriculture and food, which reflects unfavorably on the domestic market. Because of this they decided to call a Central Committee Plenum in March to discuss and resolve this question.

As far as further development of democracy is concerned, I think the way we have set out is the right one. It also shows us some complications which we did not take into consideration earlier. We are learning, so to speak, on the march. I think there is no reason for us to back down.

We must also get used to some new approaches, which we were not used to earlier. We sincerely wish to hold a dialogue with all those who honestly want to help socialism in a creative way.

[Correspondent] Comrade Premier, you have had 3 days of intensive talks. Three deputy premiers accompanied you. What main initiatives do you bring with you for the government to act on after these talks in Moscow?

[Adamec] I had the opportunity to convince myself once again that good preparation for all talks is worthwhile. The most beautiful words cannot replace concrete knowledge and a practical approach. We must begin to apply this principle fully in our work at home, and we must implement it in international relations. It is only possible to expect good results based on concrete facts, and with good factual preparation. I am leaving with feelings that we have done some beneficial work. I am not mistaken that in doing this we have fulfilled everything I hoped for, but I have a good sense that the way we set about our work is a basis for making it possible to continue.

Ryzhkov Says Talks 'Successful'

LD1802214889 Prague CTK in English 1930 GMT
18 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow Feb 18 (CTK correspondent)—Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov assessed very positively the course and results of his talks in Moscow with Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec.

In a short interview granted to Czechoslovak journalists, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that the preparation of the talks was good and the meeting successful. I am satisfied with its results, he added.

Ladislav Adamec paid a three-day official friendly visit to the USSR February 16-18.

Adamec Departs 18 Feb

LD1802133889 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT
18 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and premier of the Czechoslovak Government, left Moscow on Saturday upon the end of his official friendly visit to the USSR.

He was seen off at the airport by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Polish Paper Carries New Report on Katyn

LD2002100289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0630 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Polish weekly ODRÓDZENIE has published a document about a highly important issue which has long cast a shadow over Soviet-Polish relations. I mean the murder of 4,200 Polish officers in Katyn, near Smolensk. The story begins as follows: In September 1939, after the partition of Poland, the Soviet Army took approximately 11,000 officers prisoner. It is believed that they were placed in three camps, in Kozelsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov. The majority vanished without a trace. The graves in Katyn were uncovered by German troops in April 1943. Strange as it may seem, the Germans agreed to admit Polish Red Cross staff to establish the circumstances of the deaths. It is the Polish Red Cross report that is published by ODRÓDZENIE. The document is so far unknown to all—historians and the general public.

In 1945, as stated by the weekly's foreword, the report, which existed in a single copy, was handed to the charge d'affaires at the British Embassy in Warsaw, and in this way ended up in London, where it was marked top-secret. Representatives of the Polish emigre government were not given access to it. Polish Professor Kowalski unearthed this document in British archives only recently. It is an extensive report, but at least two conclusions stem from it: first that the killings did not have robbery as an aim, as the bodies were still in their uniforms, with their orders and shoes, and a large number of Polish coins and bank notes were found on them; second, the papers found on the bodies—like the results of the examination carried out in 1943—attest that the murder was committed in March or April 1940.

The time of the crime is a fundamental issue in the story. According to the version previously adhered to by Soviet historians—the official version, let us say—the crime was committed by Germans at a considerably later time, when Smolensk Oblast was occupied by fascist Germany. If the mass murder really was committed in the March or April of 1940, there could only be one perpetrator of the action, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

MSZMP Plenum Discusses New Constitution

LD2002213689 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT
20 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest February 21 TASS—The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party started its deliberations here on February 20. Addressing the plenum, Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, set out the concept of a new Constitution of the Republic. He pointed out that the document should formalize the definition of Hungary as a free, democratic and socialist state. The fundamental law should record such basic values as the determinant

role of public property, social justice, the course for decreasing differences in possibilities of citizens and public solidarity. On the whole, the Constitution should give a clear-cut idea on the nature of the country's socialist development.

The speaker pointed to the need to formalize the principle under which the people is the sole bearer of all power in the country, exercising their right directly—through referenda or by putting forth social initiatives—or through the state mechanism. Great importance is attached to the clear delineation of functions between various bodies of authority. The Central Committee proposes that the final text of the Constitution be approved during a nation-wide polling.

Seeking invariably to be a determinant of social processes in the country, the HSWP intends to ensure this with its programme, political activities and greater prestige in society and not through legal acts. Proceeding from the above, the speaker pointed to inexpediency of recording in the new Constitution a provision on the party's leading role.

Meeting participants unanimously approved the information on the concept of the new Constitution, calling on all HSWP members to take an active part in its nation-wide discussion.

The plenary meeting will continue its work on February 21.

West Europe

Message to UK Urges Cooperation on Afghanistan
LD1802093989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0750 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] London, 18 Feb (TASS)—L.M. Zamyatin, the USSR's ambassador to Great Britain, visited the British Foreign Office on Friday and, on the instructions of the Soviet leadership, presented to Lord Glenarthur, minister of state for foreign affairs, a statement regarding a political settlement in Afghanistan. The document notes, in particular, that an honorable joining of forces to put the problems of an Afghan settlement on the tracks of peaceful, negotiated solutions would accord with the long-term interests of the international community.

The British leadership, the statement says, could again weigh on the scales of political wisdom and logic the steps that should be taken to promote the swiftest possible cessation of the civil war in Afghanistan and the peaceful and just resolution of its future social state structure.

UK's Howe on Gorbachev Visit, Arms Issues
PM1702190789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Speech by G. Howe"]

[Text] London, 17 Feb—We are impatiently awaiting M.S. Gorbachev's coming visit to Britain, which will make it possible to discuss international problems in detail and strengthen bilateral relations, British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe has stated.

Speaking at the Foreign Press Association, the head of the foreign policy department made a positive assessment of the changes taking place in the world and the switch from confrontation to collaboration, good-neighborness, and cooperation. The positive changes that have recently taken place in East-West relations have been the most notable, the minister said. The new thinking in the Soviet Union has made it possible to make progress on arms control, human rights, and the settlement of regional problems. This inspires hope that the "cold war" period will be left behind.

The British minister went on to point out that the process of improving relations can also be observed in "East-East" relations. The forthcoming historic Soviet-Chinese summit opens up prospects for stable relations between the two great powers, which is also in the interests of Western countries.

Turning to the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, G. Howe called this step a "triumph for common sense."

The minister welcomed the unilateral armed forces reductions announced by the Warsaw Pact states and the publication of figures on numbers of Warsaw Pact arms and armed forces. He stressed that this is making a major contribution to stabilizing the situation in Europe. At the same time, repeating NATO's position, G. Howe stated that the statistics published by the Warsaw Pact cannot serve as the starting point at the forthcoming talks in Vienna on conventional armed forces in Europe. The minister welcomed the USSR's decision to unilaterally begin scrapping chemical weapons. In this regard he advocated the adoption of strict international verification measures. Touching on the issue of the British nuclear potential, he advocated its retention as a "means of deterring aggression and guaranteeing peace." G. Howe also supported the plans being developed by NATO for the modernization of nuclear weapons.

The leader of the British foreign policy department called on the West to give practical support to the reforms underway in the Soviet Union, but to do so with a "certain amount of caution."

G. Howe stated that Britain is striving to develop bilateral ties with the Soviet Union in all areas.

Voronin Supports Expanded Trade With France
PM2002103789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "USSR-France: Business Ties Are Growing Stronger"]

[Text] Paris—The 23d session of the permanent joint Soviet-French Commission on Scientific, Technical, and Economic Cooperation—the "grand commission"—chaired by P. Berégovoy, French minister of economy, finance, and budget, and L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has begun its work here.

The session is to sum up the results of bilateral relations, outline long-term goals, and examine questions of cooperation in the sphere of the utilization of nuclear power, color television, agriculture, and the agro-industrial complex. Particular attention has been devoted to new forms of cooperation—the creation of joint enterprises and industrial coproduction.

Paris attaches great importance to this session and expresses the hope that it will help galvanize economic ties between the two countries.

During a meeting with representatives of business circles that preceded the opening of the session and during a conversation with your correspondent, L.A. Voronin pointed out that Soviet-French relations in the economic sphere are not bad but cannot be described as good: They lack dynamism. There are restrictions on the import of Soviet goods, and the barriers erected by the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [Cocom] impede exchanges in the sphere of information technology and electronics. We are not active enough in promoting our goods on the French market, and raw materials make up too large a proportion of our exports.

We see this session, L.A. Voronin said, as an important stage in the preparations for M.S. Gorbachev's coming visit to France.

What does Paris expect from the current session of the "grand commission"? I put this question to Michel Freyche, president of the French Bank of Foreign Trade, who also heads the USSR committee in the National Council of French Entrepreneurs.

"We in France," he said, "both the state and the private sector, are endeavoring to update the 'grand commission's' work methods and facilitate contacts between the two countries' firms and enterprises. Cocom is indisputably impeding the development of exchanges linked with advanced technology. We want the restrictions it has established to be gradually relaxed—that is the position of the National Council of French Entrepreneurs. Franco-Soviet joint enterprises have good prospects.

"While speaking of Soviet economic reforms, I must note that we are interested in everything that helps promote the development of international economic relations. We would like the USSR to play a more active role in foreign economic exchanges and in all international organizations that promote such exchanges."

Petrovskiy, UK Envoy Discuss Near East
PM1702150789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, received R. Braithwaite, British ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request on 15 February.

A useful exchange of opinions took place on problems of a Near East settlement and the normalization of the situation in the Near East, taking into consideration the opportunities for broadening political collaboration between the two countries in the quest for peaceful solutions to regional conflicts. The discussion took place in the light of USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's coming visit to a number of Near East countries.

Petrovskiy Meets With Norwegian Ambassador
PM1702150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy received O. Bucher Johannessen, Norwegian ambassador in Moscow, on 14 February at the latter's request.

Envoy Conveys Carlsson Message for Ryzhkov
PM1702145989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, has received A. Thunborg, Swedish ambassador to the USSR, who conveyed a personal verbal message from Prime Minister I. Carlsson to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Bessmertnykh Receives Spanish Ambassador 14 Feb
PM2002111589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 14 February A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received J. Cuenca, Spanish ambassador to the USSR, a representative of the country which is now serving as EC Council president.

The situation in the Near East region and ways to advance toward a lasting and comprehensive Near East settlement were discussed, taking into account the impending visit by E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, to a number of Near East countries.

The ambassador was informed of the situation taking shape around Afghanistan, primarily in connection with the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from this country in accordance with the Geneva agreements.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Begins 'Working Program' in Ukraine

Observes 'Mriya' Flight in Kiev

LD2002180589 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 20 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent A. Tikhomirov video report from Kiev]

[Excerpts] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev arrived today in the Ukrainian capital. At Kiev's Borispol Airport Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was welcomed by Comrade Shcherbitskiy, Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; members of the Central Committee Bureau; and leaders of the republican government. [video: Gorbachev, Raisa, and other officials disembark from aircraft; Gorbachev shakes hands with Shcherbitskiy and other officials]

Their working program started here at the airport. The new aircraft, the AN-225, the world's largest cargo aircraft, developed at the Antonov design bureau, was being prepared at a pad for a show flight. The aircraft is called "Mriya," which means a dream in Russian, and it is a dream indeed, if one takes into account that even the powerful "Ruslan," which was shown here in June 1985 to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, would look, if compared with this aircraft as, say, a track athlete alongside a weight-lifter. [video: Gorbachev, Raisa, and others on the airfield; "Mriya" on the runway; the aircraft interiors, control panels; the aircraft taking off and flying over the airfield] [passage omitted]

[Begin Gorbachev recording; video shows him shaking hands with an unidentified man at the airfield] Well, congratulations on the "Mriya"—the dream which has come true. We have a dream to make restructuring come true, that is another thing! But this, too, is part of restructuring. [end recording]

One could say that this aircraft is a creation of restructuring indeed. All materials and instruments are Soviet-made. As few as 3 years have passed from the first drawing of this aircraft to this flight. So we are capable of something! The motorcade has set off for Kiev from Borispol airport. [video shows motorway]

Program Stresses Science, Technology

PM2102150789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 21 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Wings of Scientific and Technical Progress for Restructuring. M.S. Gorbachev's Meetings in the Ukrainian Capital"]

[Text] Kiev, 20 Feb—The working program of M.S. Gorbachev's stay in the Ukraine began literally a few minutes after the plane bringing him from Moscow landed at Borispol'skiy Airport. At an area of the airport

he viewed a new aircraft which continues the series of famous wide-bodied airliners created at the O.K. Antonov Experimental Design Bureau.

The An-225, the world's largest transport aircraft, is striking in both size and sophisticated technical characteristics. Its six turbojet engines power an aircraft with an 87-meter wingspan. Thanks to its daring design solutions, it is essentially an all-purpose means of transportation: a powerful, economical, and reliable aircraft capable of carrying 250 tonnes of freight and requiring no special airfields. It will be indispensable at the construction sites of Siberia, the Extreme North, and the Far East.

Briefing M.S. Gorbachev on the plane, P.V. Balabuyev, chief designer of the experimental design bureau, drew attention to the fact that the computers, instruments, and materials used in the aircraft are all Soviet-made. The creation of the An-225 is not just a bold leap in engineering thought but also a breakthrough to the most advanced technologies.

It is characteristic that this task was set 3 and 1/2 years ago, when in June 1985 M.S. Gorbachev was briefed in detail here on the now famous "Ruslan." Mention was made then of producing the transport craft of the future, making extensive use of automation in their design and construction, and employing the most advanced materials.

"Ruslan" aircraft are now flying the air routes of the 5-year plan, and the winged giants' creators are launching a new aircraft which surpasses its predecessor on every count. Such is the logic of the course of faster scientific and technical progress—the basis of restructuring in the sphere of material production.

M.S. Gorbachev viewed the aircraft and conversed with its builders and test pilots. He was told that the new aircraft is not called "Mriya" for nothing. It means "Dream." After all, the boldest, most audacious dreams come true when they inspire the people and motivate them to carry out real deeds to achieve the set goals. And the creation of the new aircraft is convincing evidence of that.

An An-225 demonstration flight then took place. The giant machine, flown by a crew under test pilot A.V. Galunenko, lifted easily off the ground after a short takeoff run, maneuvered, gathered height, circled the airfield several times, and then headed for the experimental design bureau's airfield. Thus one of the series of "Mriya" test flights took place.

M.S. Gorbachev thanked the chief designer and congratulated the experimental design bureau collective on their great and well deserved achievement, on the realized dream. "We have a nationwide dream," he said, "the dream of implementing restructuring. That requires us to work tenaciously and not fear difficulties. Your 'Mriya' is an integral part of restructuring."

The route from the air field went via new districts and the historic center of Kiev. The Soviet Ukraine's capital has markedly changed for the better and become more attractive, and these good changes are also concrete results of restructuring, which is headed by the city's almost 240,000-strong detachment of Communists. Dozens of enterprises are being modernized through the constant concern and efforts of hundreds of thousands of Kievans, thanks to which the entire 5.5 percent growth in production last year was achieved through improved labor productivity. Contract discipline is strengthening and the large-scale plans are being backed up by deeds.

The results of this work are being felt by working people themselves. For the first time in many years the number of people waiting for housing has fallen—by 4,400. The volume of retail commodity turnover last year increased by 7.8 percent and the sale of paid services by 12 percent.

The cars turned into Kiev's main street—Kreshchatik. That is where M.S. Gorbachev's first meeting with Kiev's inhabitants took place. A conversation began about the most vital issues affecting people's lives—food supplies and prices, the pace of housing construction and the quality of consumer goods, and problems of democracy and glasnost. The exchange of opinions was frank. M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the system of worker control that is being set up has a special role to play in combating embezzlement and shortcomings in trade and consumer services. Working people themselves must take responsibility for these crucial areas. An end must be put to every kind of abuse.

The participants in the conversation noted that restructuring is progressing and gathering momentum. In particular, the new forms of economic management are being introduced on a wider scale. In this regard M.S. Gorbachev said that the working people themselves must regulate the cooperative movement and the life of the new labor collectives. We need cooperatives, they repair apartments, make clothes, and do much else besides. Cooperatives must be created more boldly in the production sphere too. But it is necessary to eliminate distortions in the development of cooperatives and not to allow anyone to simply get rich or to pick the people's pocket.

But, he stressed, it is not a question of cooperative members alone. Economic accountability must be introduced on a broader scale, everywhere, production must be developed in all areas, and scientific and technical progress must be advanced more boldly.

M.S. Gorbachev and those accompanying him visited the V.I. Lenin Monument. Lenin's words are hewn in gold on the monument's granite pedestal: "Given united action by the Belorussian and Ukrainian proletarians, a free Ukraine is possible, without such unity there can be no question of it." M.S. Gorbachev and V.V. Shcherbitskiy laid red carnations at the memorial to the creator of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The traditions of proletarian internationalism, the unity of the fraternal union republics, and the Kievans' contribution to the renewal of all aspects of our life were the theme of the conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and a group of labor and Great Patriotic War veterans and representatives of young people.

The Ukrainian capital's working people—veterans and young people alike—told M.S. Gorbachev about the experience which they have gained from the practice of restructuring. The main conclusion which people are drawing is that the problems of the present difficult period of breakthrough are surmountable. Therefore it is necessary to increase efforts, go forward more confidently, and look to the future.

Society is on the move. The masses' social activeness and people's exactingness are particularly noticeable during the election campaign.

M.S. Gorbachev: What I will say to you is this: In preparing for the elections we are undergoing a very important schooling in socialist democracy. We are finding out what is what, we are seeing how best to form the supreme organ of socialist people's power. Not everything has yet been taken into account, of course. We shall sum up the results of the campaign and make the necessary adjustments so that our electoral laws fully express the will of each person and of society as a whole. That is how it will be, without fail.

Voices: Restructuring at the local level must also be speeded up....

The participants in the conversation told M.S. Gorbachev that at the enterprises where they work there is sometimes a lack of proper order, the administrative-edict style of leadership is being eradicated only slowly, and trade unions often lack boldness and determination in defending working people's vital interests.

M.S. Gorbachev: We know much of what you are saying. It is true, the restructuring processes are sometimes slow and contradictory in their progress, not everyone has been drawn into their orbit yet. As for the trade unions, here I fully agree with you. They must show their mettle more forcefully. We all need to restructure ourselves, such are the times.

Voice: Indeed, all of us. And each person must begin with himself and not just look to the leadership...

M.S. Gorbachev: Correct. And it is very good that this viewpoint is expressed by young people. This means that they have correctly perceived the main task of restructuring—to begin with yourself and not to blame others. It is more beneficial to the cause that way. When we all embark upon it harmoniously and are more exacting everywhere, it will advance more rapidly. Our conversation has pleased me, I take my leave of you confident that your character is firm, which means that together we will be able to overcome all our present obstacles.

In the afternoon M.S. Gorbachev met with the collective of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Materials Science Problems. This research center is well known not only to circles of the country's scientific community but also abroad. The institute performs the role of all-union expert—it is the chief coordinator on questions of powder metallurgy and is conducting a number of priority studies without which Soviet machine building cannot switch rapidly to highly efficient technologies.

The high quality of machines, mechanisms, and equipment and the reduction of their metals- and energy-intensiveness—that is what restructuring in industry and the modernization of its leading sectors mean today. What prevents scientific developments from being promptly incorporated in new machines and technologies? Unless that is examined thoroughly now and unless the most vulnerable links in the chain of scientific and technical progress are highlighted, the lag behind the world level may become irreversible. The detailed and frank discussion between M.S. Gorbachev and the scientists was about this.

Setting out the institute's program of activity, its director, Academician V.I. Trefilov of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, spoke not only about the scientific results obtained in the laboratories but also about the losses which the country's industry has suffered by not adopting many scientific developments. And this is despite the fact that the Ukrainian scientific school is characterized by the high standard of technological readiness [zavershennost] of new scientific ideas.

Where are the departmental labyrinths where the salubrious streams of restructuring still have not penetrated? Why are ministerial plans for the introduction of new equipment and technology still encumbered with dozens of new, hedging instructions? The views were expressed that the transfer of enterprises to full economic accountability will inevitably make production workers look to science. And then it is not scientists who will seek a place for the introduction of developments but enterprises themselves which will begin the search from the opposite direction.

The discussion turned to the intersectoral scientific and technical complexes. M.S. Gorbachev asked why industry is still responding poorly to the proposals of those collectives and of leading specialists in various sectors of science and technology. Academician B.Ye. Paton, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, expressed the opinion that the birth of these complexes was delayed by departmental barriers. The "Powder Metallurgy" complex, for instance, unites over 300 plants under various ministries but the leaders of sectors and departments have still not broken the old habit of dividing those plants' concerns into two parts—their own and other people's. Strange as it may seem, ministries consider the developments produced by a leading scientific center which raises machine building to the world level to be "someone else's" concern.

M.S. Gorbachev: What has to be done for Soviet scientific and engineering firms or concerns to finally begin to work persistently for scientific and technical progress?

B.Ye. Paton: First, we must strengthen these intersectoral scientific and technical complexes until they develop into departmental science and production associations. They should be given the appropriate base to develop their own experimental production facilities and we must provide, within the Gosnab system, for priorities for supplying these complexes with the necessary equipment and materials. The wholesale trade system toward which the intersectoral scientific and technical complexes were geared is unfortunately unable to satisfy even the elementary requirements of scientists and technologists.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, there is much that is not going well in this important sphere from which we expect a revolutionary influence on the technical standard of our industry. Perhaps we should propose discussing this question at a Politburo session?

The talk turned to the experimental production base of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. To some extent it is unique on a countrywide scale. Eleven experimental plants, 30 experimental production facilities, and 37 design and manufacturing organizations have now been put into operation. Two intersectoral scientific and technical complexes have launched work, one of which—the "Powder Metallurgy" intersectoral scientific and technical complex—was born within the walls of this very institute.

Such a strong engineering and design bridge has perhaps not been built in any other republican academy. But will this bridge produce a tangible return and has two-way traffic along it begun? Answering this question, scientists noted in particular that under the conditions of the incomplete economic accountability from whose fetters scientific centers have not yet extricated themselves, they have to undertake any topic merely in order to "feed themselves." Yet even while working for purely applied needs, it was stressed in the conversations, it is important not to lose one's perspective. "Everlasting" automobile filters, for instance, were the first real technological offspring of the theory of fiber metallurgy developed at the institute. But this first-class scientific "commodity" has still not been officially classed as an innovation. In other words, the collective has not yet felt real incentives either for the innovation's extensive introduction into practice or for the intensification of fundamental research in this new direction. It is time to elevate the rank of scientific output to the category of normal price-forming factors.

M.S. Gorbachev saw samples of scientific output in the institute's laboratory premises. Many exhibits were machine components and instruments produced not from metal but from ceramics with qualities not inferior to the top grades of pig iron, steel, and alloys. The

"Powder Metallurgy" intersectorial scientific and technical complex has given birth not only to these components but also to entire assemblies of machinery, for instance, an internal combustion engine block, and also original heating devices and unique medical instruments. Unfortunately, the trouble is that many of these innovations which are attractively simple to manufacture still only live an "exhibition life."

Next to the exhibits there was a lively exchange of opinions about how Ukrainian science can help in increasing the safety of operation of nuclear power stations and mining and chemical production facilities. M.S. Gorbachev assessed the institute's achievements highly. Metal-intensive equipment, he stressed, should give way to science-intensive equipment, and it is the Kiev scientists and specialists who are at the sources of an important avenue of the technical revolution.

Another exhibition which M.S. Gorbachev viewed has gathered together the best works of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences scientists who are resolving problems of improving various technologies in the agro-industrial complex. Engineers and geneticists, designers, selection workers, and specialists in biological methods of plant protection presented the results of their work here.

The Ukraine does indeed have a colossal scientific potential, M.S. Gorbachev said, concluding the conversation. I very much wanted to come here. I am sure that by using only economic methods, even if they are the most sophisticated methods, we can win a first stage of the struggle in both labor productivity and the quality of work. But we must look further, to the long term.

A serious lag has been allowed in many important avenues of the economy. That is why our people must know that in launching restructuring we must back up the economic reform with the most powerful incentives to scientific and technical progress. Hence the priority attention paid to problems of science.

Great difficulties now face us because the growth and scale of restructuring are enormous and not everything is being successfully achieved straightaway. But in all avenues—in electronics and in machine building—there is movement and the pace of development is increasing. Combined with the economic reform and the restructuring of the system of economic management and of production relations, scientific and technical progress is the base which should ensure firm strides in the economy.

People have become more active. In Kiev today, Mikhail Sergeyevich said, I had two conversations with working people. People are speaking boldly and committedly about unsolved problems, are expressing their will and their wishes, and want matters to change more rapidly. That is good, that is how it should be. A synthesis of will, thinking, and policy from above and of the people's initiative from below—that is what we need today.

M.S. Gorbachev wished the institute scientists and specialists success in their tireless quest on the paths of scientific and technical progress.

'Dissident' Reports Demonstrations

WA21021421 Paris AFP in English 2152 GMT
20 Feb 1989

[Text] Moscow, Feb 20 (AFP) - About 5,000 people took advantage of a visit to Kiev by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to demonstrate Monday against the Ukrainian Communist Party leader, a dissident source said here Monday.

Mr. Gorbachev, accompanied by his wife Raisa, arrived for an unannounced visit of the southwestern republic of Ukraine earlier in the day.

Soviet dissident Yuri Mitunov, who is close to the Democratic Union, a organisation which has tried to set up as a separate political party, said he was told of the protest by sources in Kiev.

A similar demonstration, involving about 2,000 people, took place Sunday on the October Revolution Square in the Ukrainian capital, he added.

Police did not move against either demonstration, he said.

Some of the protesters, who reportedly want to set up a "popular movement" on the lines of similar associations recently formed in other Soviet republics, called for daily gatherings in Kiev until the March 26 general elections.

Ukrainian Communist Party head Vladimir Shcherbitski was one of the last appointees to the politburo made by late leader Leonid Brezhnev, who is now strongly attacked by the official media.

Kiev avenues were lined with curious bystanders who wanted to get a glimpse of Mr. Gorbachev who reportedly met Monday with the republic's government and party leaders.

Addressing the people of Kiev, Mr. Gorbachev announced that the government would make "important proposals" next month to solve the country's food shortages, according to television reports here.

"We will inundate the market with less expensive goods," Mr. Gorbachev said. He did not elaborate.

Speaking to an elderly woman who feared that prices could go up soon, Mr. Gorbachev said that: "If prices are to be changed we will discuss this in public. But we won't think about it for the next two or three years."

The TASS news agency announced earlier that while in the republic Mr. Gorbachev would visit industrial and cultural centres and meet agricultural, industrial, economic and scientific officials.

The Ukraine is one of the Soviet Union's biggest agricultural regions and the trip, of unannounced duration, came only a few weeks before a Central Committee meeting next month to concentrate on agricultural problems.

Gorbachev Meets Kiev Inhabitants

PM2102110389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondents V. Kozhemyako, M. Odinets, and I. Tikhomirov: "Creative Quest Must be Geared to Restructuring; M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in Kiev"]

[Excerpts] Kiev— On 20 February M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow for Kiev.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, arrived in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, 20 February. At Borispol airport he was met by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, and other officials and representatives of the public.

Mikhail Sergeyevich's work began right here, on the airport runway, where he was shown the world's largest transport aircraft, the "Mriya" AN-225. [passage omitted] M.S. Gorbachev said that the production of the new aircraft will be a big step in developing aircraft technology and will serve the country's national economy well.

The road from the airport to Kiev's residential districts is shorter now. Hundreds of white stone high rise apartment blocks have risen up on the city's eastern outskirts and a new rayon, Kharkovskiy Rayon, has been formed, while Darnitsa, which is already considered an old district, is now growing. One more bridge is being constructed across the Dnepr to the area—as the southern crossing the bridge will link the new microrayons and one more line of the subway will be extended to the left bank.

Darnitsa's main thoroughfare is always crowded, but it is particularly lively now. People on the sidewalks greet the general secretary.

The automobiles stop at the Kreshchatik. Flowers are laid at the monument to V.I. Lenin.

Many people have gathered here. The talk turns to the most essential points.

"I have worked on the kolkhoz for 30 years but my pension has not been sorted out," an elderly woman complains.

The general secretary replies that the government is thinking about the problem and in 1985 they began by raising pensions and grants for the needy. And a law on social security, which will take into account and change a great deal, is now being prepared.

Talk turns to the worker's social state and to how his role is often reduced merely to the function of a simple executor.

"The worker must be the fully empowered master at the production facility," Mikhail Sergeyevich said. "It is for this that the economic reform is being implemented and the labor collectives' councils have been created.

There immediately follows the response:

"But often the directors pressurize people and do what they want."

The solution is up to the collective. If the "boss" doesn't suit it, it must gather, discuss, and elect another, comes the reply.

"People do not always listen to us. The party organs are bringing pressure to bear during the nomination of candidates. For instance in our city, in Zhitomir...

Each person has the right to his viewpoint, the right to be heard, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary believes. It is true that there are people who like to make a fuss and make promises. In the Ukraine one candidate deputy promised to resolve the housing problem in 3 years and to build schools...

"They are opportunists!"

Many things were talked about. The food shortage, soap, washing powder, prices and the weight of the ruble, wages, and instances of unfair treatment of working people.

Of course, the Kiev inhabitants are concerned with questions of the ecology, the consequences of Chernobyl, the fate of the atomic power stations under construction, especially the Crimean AES. Answering them, M.S. Gorbachev said that they are constantly the focus of attention of the leadership of the party and country. And in the next few days he himself intends to visit the Chernobyl AES and the power workers' city of Slavutich.

[The preceding two paragraphs are rendered as follows in the PRAVDA 21 February Second Edition version of this item:

Many things were talked about. And frequently there immediately followed specific instructions to leaders of the republic's party and government—to investigate matters thoroughly, to resolve a particular question, to examine a particular complaint.

I am pleased with our talk, Mikhail Sergeyevich notes. Some 3 and 1/2 years ago, when I met with you right here, on this spot, there was no such frankness. That means that glasnost and democracy are working, that restructuring is working.)

Following the course of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the 27th party congress, and the 19th party conference, the Ukrainian working people have managed to do a lot. Difficulties are gradually being overcome and progressive trends are being strengthened in the republic's economy. New methods of economic management are gathering momentum. Nonetheless, inertia is only being overcome with difficulty and people have not renounced old approaches everywhere. The republic's economy is in many ways continuing to move along the extensive path and is mainly expenditure-based. The situation is the same in Kiev's economy. This was stated during Mikhail Sergeyevich's meetings and talks with the people of Kiev on the city streets. [passage omitted]

Every conversation, even every brief talk, began with words in support of restructuring. M.S. Gorbachev himself and those taking part in conversations with him and the people with whom we talked that day on the streets of Kiev talked of the progress of restructuring and the dynamics and problems of renewal. [passage omitted]

The Ukraine has not only a powerful economic potential but also a constantly growing scientific potential. Expenditure on science is increasing. The return on this is also noticeable. The application of the achievements of science and technology in industry has helped to save about R800 million. But the facts attest that there has been a reduction in the number of progressive new manufacturing processes and highly productive equipment which have been introduced. The state order targets for scientific and technical progress have not been implemented by a whole series of union ministries.

These and other problems of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress were discussed at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Problems of Materials Technology which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited in the afternoon. The institute is the head organization of the intersectorial "powder metallurgy" scientific and technical complex. Its director, Academician V. Trefilov, described the leading avenues in the institute's work.

M.S. Gorbachev asked about the practical return on scientific developments and ways of further accelerating scientific and technical progress and strengthening the link between science and production.

"For us," said Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician Yu. Naydich, chief of a department at the institute, "the main thing is to bring the results of our developments up to the world standard. And this can be achieved with the utmost concentration of all forces and

means on priority avenues. Much depends on our degree of organization and persistence both during scientific research itself and during the introduction of its results."

M.S. Gorbachev welcomed with satisfaction the news that the saving from the developments which have been introduced in the past 3 years is now nearly R400 million. An impressive figure! But could it be bigger? Undoubtedly, the scientists said, a great deal bigger. [passage omitted]

In the departments, laboratories, and production subdivisions people greeted Mikhail Sergeyevich warmly and cordially. In frank, sometimes sharp talks they expressed the desire to make more active use of the entire enormous potential of science to accelerate restructuring.

"In unanimously supporting the efforts of the party," said M. Kovalenko, chief of the Public Design and Technology Bureau rare metals shop, "we must all work together to help advance matters, to introduce order, and normalize society. Then the results will be felt."

To judge by the atmosphere which reigned during the meetings and talks, this was the common opinion. People are not inclined to holding futile meetings but to resolutely overcoming difficulties and performing creative, constructive work.

TV Shows Kiev Conversations

LD2002233189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Excerpts] A convoy of motor vehicles arrives in Kiev from Borispol airport. [video shows city scenes, big crowds, Lenin monument, Gorbachev and Shcherbitskiy, spouses behind them, laying flowers]. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev laid flowers at the Vladimir Ilyich Lenin monument in Kiev city center.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Do come nearer, one cannot hear.

[Passage omitted: Woman complains to Gorbachev that at her works no one, apart from the director, appears to be in charge]

[Gorbachev] Well, let me join in right at this juncture; you have had your say, now I will have mine. They say: Put things in order!

[Woman] We say it ourselves!

[Gorbachev] That's just it, that's just it! But now if we do things in such a way that someone has to come and put the country in order, that someone has to come to the Ukraine, to Kiev, to the enterprises and the scientific institutes, to introduce order, then I'll tell you directly, we're going to remain exactly where we are. What, therefore, is today's leadership doing? Why are we going for this? The economy via reform, these are the new

things: contracting, financial autonomy, the rights of the labor collective, elections of directors—if you don't like the director then have a meeting and decide; it's your business!

[Indistinct crowd voices]

[Gorbachev] You know what? Let the party body and the ministry and so on express a point of view; let the collective listen to everything. But the decision is the collective's. Now they say in the rayon that in the town they've got more savvy than we have! [laughter] So, let me say this to you: A session is convening and this is what we want to achieve—that the soviets ought to be like that, that they should decide what kind of people are needed; brainy people or brainless ones, you know; people who are ready and willing to meet you halfway or people who have no such desire. So, they should be brought to prominence via the soviets and this, all of this, we ought to get off the ground and, you see, this is already here—it is no longer the same society or country. Would a conversation such as this have taken place before? In 1985 I would not have been having a conversation such as this with you.

[Man] This month.

[Gorbachev] This month, is that right?

[Woman] Why don't you give pensions to all the people who bore the whole of the war upon their shoulders?

[Gorbachev] This is what I want to say about pensions. When in 1985 we began to deal with the questions of the country's future and what is to be done, among the very first of our measures—you remember - was to increase the pensions for kolkhoz personnel in keeping with the resources at our disposal at that time, and we did increase them.

[Woman] By R20.

[Gorbachev] Yes, and subsequently by R40. We increased the grants for our young people in higher educational establishments, so as to help them somehow. All in all, everything that we had at that time, we gave to these people because, indeed, there are in society people who are not well provided for, pensioners who started drawing their pensions at an earlier stage and have pensions that are smaller than those currently being given. And there exists a problem of families with many children, too.

All in all, I am bound to say that pensions legislation has, in my view, reached the stage where we need to look into it. I do not think I would be revealing a great secret and I think that I will be understood, but so that it is understood, quite simply, we are currently working on this law. Well, you do not have to be all that crafty to do your arithmetic, unless you happen to be something of a swindler.

So, how will we go about our cause, advancing it through restructuring? Well, despite the difficulties, hardships, painful problems, and teething problems, despite criticism and even abuse here and there, this cause did indeed get off the ground. Why is it that at times one does encounter criticism, painful problems, and all that? Because the issue of work has now been touched upon: Everyone has to work differently. This goes for us, you, and everyone, otherwise nothing will come out of this. Nothing will come out of this.

You can only divide what you have. Take the family: How does a family live? What and how do family members eat? Well, there you have it, the country is actually no different. There are 60 million pensioners in the country.

[Man] One has to feed them properly, what's there to think about, one has to work and to feed them properly.

[Gorbachev] Absolutely. Well, you will hear what I will have to say about it in March, to be brief. In March we will specially put forward major proposals concerning foodstuffs.

[Woman] No point in beating about the bush; everyone from the countryside has left for the towns.

[Gorbachev] I believe that that's just about how we will go about things, emphasizing this. In the first place, we are restructuring these relations, so that if someone wants to do lease-contracting, then let him do it; if he wants to form a cooperative, then let him; if he wants to work individually, as a peasant family, then let him; if an individual peasant family wants to, then let's help them and let them—so all forms, so to speak, including firms, should be used in an enterprising way so that people are engaged in them. That's the first thing. The first thing. The second is the social side of things. More has to be given to the countryside. The problem of fuel and supplies has to be removed.

[Man] The roads are very bad.

[Gorbachev] The roads, the roads, especially! And you haven't seen any really dreadful roads. I don't know, in the nonchernozem zone of the Ukraine, perhaps, but I have seen some dreadful roads. Roads, roads, roads. What else besides?

What we currently have is that we have both our data and not just our data. There is a direct way of calculating it: If we, today, preserved in full what we produce on the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, if we harvested it, preserved it, and processed it, then we would have a minimum of 20 percent more food.

[Man] What's going to happen to prices?

[Woman] Is there going to be some increase in prices, because there's a lot of talk about prices going up.

[Man] That's why there's no soap, but a lot of talk.

[Gorbachev] On the subject of prices I'll say this: You must remain calm about prices for this reason. If we do come to the conclusion that they have to be changed in some way—not just increased, not just increased, but changed in some way—then we will do that only when it has been discussed by the entire people, because if the people are opposed to it, prices mustn't be touched.

[Man] In general, the people are against it, (?I believe).

[Gorbachev] Therefore, therefore, as we look at it, for 2 or 3 years this talk must be dropped altogether...

[Man] Well, that's right.

[Gorbachev] ...and work must be done to ensure that there is more food and more of all the other goods; the market must be saturated, that's the main thing, production must be increased and made cheaper, that's what has to be done.

What did surprise me—and I want to tell you about it—this is what surprised me: the fact that there are these signals that reach us here. We will yet talk about and examine this together with Vladimir Vasilyevich [Shcherbitskiy]. I mean things that are in abundant and plentiful supply—where are they? Why is it that they, too, turned out to be in short supply? All of a sudden you get these holdups now with soap, now with washing powder, now with sugar. But, after all, all that is available. Something happened to disorganize this market as far as the goods which were and are in plentiful supply are concerned.

That is why, apart from everything else, and in order to improve the market, we embarked also on this path: we are creating a system of workers' control. We even want to pass a law on workers' control. [end recording]

The talk at these meetings today was, of course, also about the election campaign and the registration of candidates. Not everything is as it ought to be in the view of those who live in Kiev. Raykoms and the gorkom frequently put pressure on the electorate.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] This is what I think. What you are talking about certainly does take place. This means that we have not yet looked into everything. And, in all probability, you have still failed to avail yourselves of your rights properly. This process will, apparently, go on. But, listen, I see that there also exist such reckless people—for instance, some kind of candidate recklessly travels round the Ukraine and says: Give me 3 years and I will have the housing issue resolved for you! I will build 30 schools and that's for sure!

Well, as for me, I came to see you, but you will not get me to begin to say such things to you even if you were to threaten disaster for me, here on the spot! What sort of empty talk is this at a responsible time? It has but one aim: to win people over and so on. And, incidentally, people have begun to see what's what. Such demagoguery is impermissible. A serious dialogue must be conducted.

[Man] We ourselves fail to do all this, (?if everything continues to resolve round talking) then, honestly, all is futile! Everything depends upon everyone, on a personal basis. One must get down in earnest to work to change oneself! Then something will change!

[Gorbachev] And one must participate. Well, take the Communists—the last time that the report-back and election campaign took place two-thirds were replaced, you know. I have to tell you this. And nonparty people took part; nonparty people took part! A very great change took place.

But you surely know this, too: People are often replaced, but still the restructuring life itself has failed to bring forward these most active people. In all likelihood time will form them yet. Things cannot be done immediately. You might say let us propose this or that person, or let us change this or that. But what or who is to take their place?

So, you have to live a bit. I am in favor of genuinely selfless and reliable people heading the current stage of great changes and I will even try to say this, speaking in Kiev to the whole of the country.

[Woman] But people are still afraid.

[Gorbachev] Well, let them rid themselves of it, because for as long as you do not...

[Woman] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what kind of thing is this, why is it, all the same, that construction of an atomic power station is underway in the Crimea? After all, it was proven there and [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] In the Crimea, in the Crimea.

[Woman] I heard that it will be, it will be [word indistinct].

[Gorbachev] Me too. Me too. I want to say I heard this too. I heard that after you had heard this and began to raise this issue—Moscow got to hear about it, the government got to hear about it, yes they did.

They did and they called for expert opinion on this project and asked the best specialists from the United States.

[Woman] And why is no faith placed in ours?

[Gorbachev] Wait a moment. Our scientists will be involved, too. I mean here the specialists who built Japan's entire atomic power industry in 9 or 10 degrees of seismic conditions. Japan relies practically on atomic power alone. So, they have been called upon to give their expert views and this will require a certain amount of time.

The construction is proceeding. However, if expert finds are such that it is not feasible to hand this station over for use, to commission it there, it will then be turned into a station where cadres will be trained; it will be a training center and not an atomic power station.

So we will do what is necessary—this is not a game; it must not be a game where these issues are concerned, so to speak. So all this is in earnest. Just do not think that we wish to run rings round someone, because we can only get ourselves in a blind alley, so to speak. Okay, comrades, keep the pressure up, only keep it up on the restructuring and not just on the bosses!

[Raisa Gorbacheva] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I gave the flowers away, on your behalf, as a keepsake.

[Gorbachev] Press ahead, press ahead, comrades. We from above and you from below. Only in this way will restructuring take place. There is not other way. Just like the press, you know, from both sides; for if the pressure is one-sided, things will be shifted to only one side.

[Woman] Cadres need to be changed. As for the old ones, change them, change them!

[Gorbachev] Cadres should arise during the course of restructuring. We should change them. But where will we get them from? Where, all of us? When? If only we could bake them, these cadres, like pancakes. They have to be formed.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 20 February 1989 in a similar report on the recorded exchange with the unidentified woman resident adds:

[Woman] "They don't get anything moving. Mikhail Sergeyevich. No, no, Mikhail Sergeyevich.]

[Gorbachev] All the best! Don't lose heart, don't lose your convictions, comrades.

[Woman] We will not. We place our hopes in you, Mikhail Sergeyevich!

[Gorbachev] The most difficult years are these, but we have been through far worse ordeals. When it was a matter of life and death, we coped. It is not a matter now of life and death, but of the fate of the state and the people. Fate can be in various forms. So that's what the question is. all the best! [end recording]

Radio Reports Talks With Residents

LD2002142388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, arrived in the Ukrainian capital today. Our special correspondent's report from Kiev.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] [passage omitted] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is going to the city from the airport. Immediately after the report of Mikhail Sergeyevich's arrival in Kiev was broadcast over the radio, many people came out onto the streets. The people of Kiev warmly welcome the general secretary of the party Central Committee.

Kreshchatik, the central street of the city. At the very start of it, a stop at the monument to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

[Second correspondent] The leader of our party is laying wreaths at the monument to Lenin. Right here at the Lenin Monument, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev talked to inhabitants of the city.

[Gorbachev] How are we going to advance our cause through restructuring, when it is proceeding with difficulty—it is hard and painful—reluctantly and amid criticism, even abuse in some places? But it has got moving, it has got moving. So why is it sometimes painful and amid criticism? Because what it touches upon now is that everyone has to work differently. We and you, all of us have to. Otherwise nothing will happen. There are many advisers here now, saying do this and that. No. The most important thing, comrades, is that a person here should feel better in society and regard himself as the master at work; that he should not be regarded as someone paid by the day, either on the kolkhoz or at the enterprise, with people saying don't interfere, it has nothing to do with you, just stand at the machine, you've nothing....

[Unidentified woman] Yet that kind of thing still exists....

[Gorbachev] In general it's all still like that.

[Woman] It's all still like that?

[Gorbachev] For the present it's still....

[Woman] We in Kiev haven't felt anything, we aren't the masters.

[Gorbachev] It's only just beginning.

[Woman] There's no master. There is one, who is the director of the works. But all the rest sit there and work as (?they have to).

[Gorbachev] But if we now do things in such a way that someone has to come and put the country in order, that someone has to come to the Ukraine, to Kiev, to the enterprises and the scientific institutes, to introduce order, then I'll tell you directly, we're going to remain exactly where we are. What, therefore, is today's leadership doing? Why are we going for this? The economy via reform, these are the new things: contracting, financial autonomy, the rights of the labor collective, elections of directors—if you don't like the director then have a meeting, have a meeting today and decide. It's your business!

[Woman] Oh! Mikhail Sergeyevich! [indistinct mumbblings from crowd]

[Woman] Then they come from the ministry and say: No one else! He's said that he's going to be chief engineer, and that's all there is to it.

[Man] The ministry has the right.

[Gorbachev] Let the party body and the ministry and so on express a point of view; let the collective listen to everything. But the decision is the collective's. And finally this has to be done openly, so that people know, in a spirit of glasnost, that that person has the right to be heard and the right to support. And there were a lot of people who did not like this—and there are still, now, those who do not like it. But again, it all has to be gone through. If we are going to wait for someone to have to come to introduce order, to govern things here, there, and everywhere, then we won't get anywhere, we'll stay where we are. That is why we need democracy, glasnost, openness, and initiative on the part of the people, initiative on the part of the people. [end recording]

TV Shows Science Institute Tour

LD2102101189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 20 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; V. Lyaskalo video report from Kiev]

[Text] [Lyaskalo] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev today visited the Problems of Material Science Institute, a leading industry-linked scientific-technical complex for powder metallurgy. A number of high-priority developments are being conducted here, without which a rapid transfer of Soviet machine-building to high-efficiency technologies is impossible. Academician Viktor Ivanovich Trefilov, the director of the institute, spoke not only about the scientific results obtained in the laboratories, but also about the losses, amounting to thousands of millions of rubles, sustained by Soviet industry after failing to equip itself with many scientific developments, and this despite the fact that a high degree of technical accomplishment in new scientific ideas is characteristic of the Ukrainian scientific school. Today the institute and the industry-linked scientific-technical complex are offering industry both goods and technology, both equipment and output. Nevertheless, in conditions which still fall short of full financial autonomy, the enterprise is not currently displaying the proper interest in technical innovations.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] All the same, to produce such things [Pauses]...in order to be [pauses]... why, when I was walking around the Kvant enterprise—that was also an exhibition—we saw so many things. They were producing two things, one was something which is simply unique in medicine—to do with blood—especially from the point of view of blood transfusions, often to patients in a state of shock. They have made an apparatus which purifies blood immediately. They have passed it to the Americans and to the Germans. They tested it, and immediately suggested: Let's build a works, let's produce them. So, wherever I go, wherever I am, there is simply fallow land, there is fallow land. So we really need small works, small series. [murmur of voices in background] Yes, especially so now that there is in some places this output which hasn't been produced, you

understand; there are losses in some places. Everything there should be thrown out, and what is needed should be brought in. [end recording]

[Lyaskalo] Academician Boris Yevgeniyevich Paton showed Mikhail Sergeyevich an exhibition which included the best work of scientists of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences who are solving important problems of improving various technologies in the agro-industrial complex. Mechanics and geneticists, designers, selection workers and specialists in biological methods of protecting plants presented their work. As before, most of the conversation is about the transfer of enterprises to full financial autonomy and the fact that producers must be made to accept science, and then scientists will not be seeking a site for the introduction of their developments, but the enterprises themselves will begin a search from the opposite direction.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I believe that, as you know, as Boris Yevgeniyevich said to me after that visit, the present visit indeed confirms what comrade—I don't remember his surname—said: He really was a person who stood aside and observed, I have reached the profound conviction that colossal scientific potential is concentrated in the Ukraine. I recall that many years ago the Ukrainian leadership, which was probably always being urged on by the active academy—the group of scientists here in the Ukraine—for a long time. For many years it has been engaged in such a promising approach to the development of scientific research in the Ukraine. I see this as a colossal about-turn. What we have heard today at your complex, I must say [pauses]... I very much wanted to visit here because I promised you I would when I was here before. The main thing is that I am convinced that we can win at least the first stage of the struggle—the stage of productivity and quality—using some of the most refined economic methods, and we can change people's attitudes. This also means that the reform should begin to work better, but it is very important for the future that everyone should know this. I stress this all the time because there are currently very many sincere sympathizers with restructuring who say: We must give something to people more quickly. I understand that, in general. We all want this. But if, with the lagging behind which has already been permitted in many very important directions—which, to be blunt, has set the country back, shall we say, in comparison with other developed ones by a very considerable degree, and if we now lose another 5 or 7 years, or if we lost these two 5-year plans, the present one and the next one, in the development of our scientific-technological potential—then I can tell you that we would not then be able to catch up with the rest of the world. We shall lag behind if the current rates of scientific-technical progress continue, with what is now being done. This is why our people must know—they must know—that in unfolding restructuring we have to promote economic reform and strengthen it with the strongest impulses in the sphere of scientific-technical progress.

From that point we try to pay due attention to our science. This is the first thing. And the second thing: Why, given all our difficulties, have we opted for finding means for modernizing machine-building? Look, I have already spoken about electronics. As recent as 5 or 7 years ago, it seems, we used to spend about 2.5 or 3 billion [rubles], no more...

[Unidentified man, interrupting] Not more.

[Gorbachev] ...Somewhere in the area of 2.5 billion. Then we adopted a draft to the value of 6 billion, and now R10 billion. This is as it should be.

There are difficulties now because the expanse and the scale are enormous, and not everything has been digested, mastered, and unfolded in full. But I tell you that in all areas—in electronics and machine-building—the required movement has started. It does not satisfy us now absolutely, but, you know, this is the period of a colossal turn away from the situation in which for years, or even for the last decades, we have not paid due attention to our machine-building. Therefore, combined with economic reform, and the restructuring of the whole managerial system and relations between types of ownership, scientific and technical progress is the base that will ensure for us a firm tread in the economy. The work being done by the industry-linked scientific-technical complex, one that is already large and enjoying a high prestige, the one we are visiting today, yours...[pauses] Viktor Ivanovich, comrades, I congratulate you. I am simply very pleased.

[Unidentified man] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] But you know what I am worried about, generally speaking—the main problem remains, nevertheless, from science to production.

[Unidentified man] To introduce it into production. It is required everywhere on a large scale.

[Gorbachev] I have already said that even your complex belongs to yesterday, to a degree—from what we saw. But the ideas you are formulating today—that not only an experimental factory and engineering centers area required, but also a system of a small series of factories, too, so that the consumer can see the advantages of application, and tries, so to speak, to start doing business with you—would bring about a different situation. Therefore, I think you have great ideas, a correct view, and that you carry out a task of great importance in the most difficult area of restructuring. Therein lies our destiny, comrades. I think that the political process, too—given all its shortcomings—is moving in the right direction. People have now become active.

We had two of those conversations in Kiev, but there is no comparison with the conversations we had in 1985. The people are getting sturdier, as they say; there is will and desire to change things sooner; they are giving it hot, [as heard] both to the center and to the Ukrainian leadership, and this is good, this is how it should be. The

synthesis of will, thought, policy from the top, and the people's initiative is what one needs. And, of course, science and progress, science and progress. We will not give up working on fundamental things. One can gain 6 months or even 3 years, yet lose everything for the country. Do you understand? Such a country cannot [pauses] how many times have I said how much we would like to achieve the results as soon as possible! But it does not happen that way. We must be confident that what we do is right. [end recording] [video Shows Gorbachev, Shcherbitskiy, Shevchenko, other unidentified officials]

More on Gorbachev-Industrial Workers Exchange
PM1702170589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1-3

[TASS report: "Restructuring for the Working Class, the Working Class for Restructuring. Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee"; for further reportage of this meeting see the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for 16 February, pp 42-47, and 17 February, pp 42-60]

[Text] As already reported, a meeting with representatives of the working class was held at the CPSU Central Committee 14 February. Workers from many sectors of industry, construction, and transportation discussed a package of topical questions and problems of restructuring, reserves, and opportunities for boosting the effectiveness of creative work for our society's renewal.

While implementing revolutionary transformations for the sake of improving the people's life, the CPSU is closely heeding the opinion of the masses and of the working class—of those who, through their labor, specific deeds, and social activeness, support and implement the historic program for the renewal of socialism.

Opening the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said:

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government I cordially welcome you representatives of the working class. You have come here from the country's union republics, major regions, and industrial centers. I think that you have something to tell the party Central Committee.

Today, when restructuring has reached the wide open spaces, has taken the highway, and has affected the whole of society and all of us—at the center and at local level—we are facing many complex new problems. Look at the way democratic processes are developing, the forms glasnost is taking, the way the exchange of opinions is proceeding, the way economic life is shaping up at enterprises, the way processes are developing! The economic reform has embraced all enterprises; a quest is under way. Every enterprise is a unique and original organism, and matters must be conducted intelligently and sensibly, with due consideration for the real situation and for the difficulties and opportunities. None of this is easy.

The political reform is also unfolding. We are now in its first stage, which includes amendments to the Constitution and the new Law on Elections. There are so many innovations here! This is a totally new reality that we have never experienced before. We look, we scrutinize, we evaluate: Is everything fine, is everything working out the way we expected? Everything must be looked at, because it is a matter of the country's future. An important question for us is who will decide questions in the Supreme Soviet and adopt new laws reflecting our present life and creating preconditions to ensure that the process of restructuring gathers strength.

We conceived restructuring as the major direction of our work, as a revolutionary transition from the present state of society to a new one whereby man, his problems, his concerns, and his life would really be the center of our attention. Hence the new social policy and the creation of an atmosphere in which man can feel confident and free. Naturally, all these tasks can be solved only via man himself, via his stance. Restructuring will falter unless man himself becomes its main protagonist.

This is why we need the economic reform and reliance on labor collectives; this is why we need the political reform, so as to involve working people at all levels of real power through democratic processes.

This is why we are developing democratization and glasnost—in order to improve our society's health, make it more humane, and get rid of all the accretions which previously encumbered our life. It is a matter of simple things—conscience, decency, conscientiousness, responsibility, comradeship, and consideration and concern for man. In other words, we are returning to the original values of October, the values put forward by the revolution more than 70 years ago. It is this that we are to talk about today. We in the CPSU Central Committee really need such a discussion.

Past experience has taught us a great deal. The progress of our restructuring may be criticized, it does have weaknesses, but in the main it is aimed at tasks and objectives which we all need. It is entirely geared to man. We would have been unable to formulate this policy if we had not had regular consultations and conversations with working people. We have, of course, always attached special importance to the opinion of the working class—the determining force of our society, the most numerous class and the one whose positions decisively determine the fate of any policy. The fact that the policy of restructuring has been accepted by the working class and by all working people cogently shows that we are on the right path.

People must be told the truth. There is a need for an open and honest exchange of opinions about the accumulated problems and about processes occurring within society. It is as a result of sharp debates and exchange of opinions, which are continuing to this day, that we have been able to reach the conclusions which form the basis for the policy of restructuring.

It is not easy to elaborate a correct policy, and I think that the party and society have managed to formulate such a policy. This is a great gain of the first stage of restructuring. But now there is a new task: This policy must be implemented, and tremendous efforts will be required in the economic and social spheres, in labor collectives, and in the party.

We have more worries. If we want to live differently and scale new heights, we must also change our positions, our views, our attitude toward the cause, our methods of work. We must become different.

We have formulated the concept of a new life and we must make it a reality through our own efforts. We have no manuals at hand. But we do have the basic principles. We are in favor of socialism; we will strengthen and develop this system. We have faith in it. This is a working people's system. And so we are in favor of socialist ownership, of revealing the potential of the economy and the social system on the basis of socialist ownership. We are in favor of ensuring that power is really and truly in the working people's hands. We are in favor of broad democracy, responsibility, and discipline. These are the main criteria.

Voices can be heard casting doubt on these values of ours. In the party there is a firm opinion that such a position is unacceptable for us. And we know that we are firmly supported in this by the working class. Socialism is our system and we will stand up for it. This is the most important point, comrades.

Our country is vast; it is inhabited by a multitude of nations and ethnic groups and, in resolving the tasks of restructuring, we must always bear this in mind. Restructuring will help to solve many questions, including questions in the sphere of interethnic relations; it will help harmonize relations between peoples and republics and between people of all nationalities. If we recognize these main basic points, all the rest will be of secondary importance. We need time for decisive transformations. We must accumulate experience of restructuring. There will certainly be mistakes. We have problems inherited from the past, and we are also aware of our present omissions and shortcomings. This must also be discussed, comrades. This is perhaps the most important thing today. After all, we have evaluated the past and learned lessons from it, and we are building the present policy bearing all this in mind. Now we must implement this policy with fewer losses and greater efficiency. It is necessary to march forward, to more decisively pursue the course of restructuring and economic and political reform, to impose order in the country, and to improve society's health. I would like you to speak out on these matters today.

Our task today is to listen to you. I invite you to a discussion, to an exchange of opinions.

The floor was taken by steel worker V.I. Naumov from the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine. Let me say it honestly and right away, he said, that restructuring back

home in Magnitogorsk is just creaking along. It seems to me that one of the main reasons why is the fact that we have still not managed to stimulate the workers' interest, to teach them to be thrifty and not to waste their labor and material resources. We do have an economic training system, but it is often detached from specific production work and is not, therefore, aimed at boosting its efficiency. We have endless work to do in this regard. I cannot say that, in the last few years of restructuring, my comrades and I have started feeling masters of production even though, objectively speaking, there has certainly been some progress. Nowadays workers want to know how much profit is retained by the enterprises and how it is spent.

The profit retained by the combine nowadays, the steel worker went on, is not enough for our retooling and the solution of pressing social questions. And this is happening because total leveling has triumphed once more. Look no further than the Lipetsk plant, which is a modern one, and the Magnitka plant which was 59 years old this year. They retain the same proportion of profits, even though the Magnitka plant needs vast sums for reconstruction and equipment replacement. Furthermore, the combine faces a heap of numerous unsolved social questions including ecological and housing questions, as well as problems concerning the population's supply of goods and foodstuffs, transportation, and water supply, whose solution is directly related to the amount of profit.

The speaker spoke about the need to improve the supply of goods and services for the city's population. He also raised the question of the need to retain a proportion of party membership dues at the disposal of primary party organizations to fund internal party events.

In the opinion of Communists from the combine, there is also need for further steps in the democratization of the report and election campaign in party organizations. Specifically, the election of shop party organization secretaries could be effected by direct ballot of all Communists and not just of bureau members.

Volgograd's workers support our party's economic program, A.Ye. Aliferenko, wire drawer at the Volgograd Steel Wire and Cable Plant, emphasized. The collective of the enterprise, which switched to economic accountability as of 1 January, is aware of the need for this step. Many problems had to be tackled under the new conditions of economic management.

All of us, myself included, are accustomed to working in the old style. It is not easy to give up old habits. Today, in the conditions of radical economic reform and fundamental renewal of work style, it is not only the engineering and technical workers, but also we who have to learn.

Another aspect is the lack of precision in metal supplies. Hence the rush work which has an effect on the quality of the enterprise's output, and which does not meet current demands and world standards. We all, A.Ye. Aliferenko

emphasized, are simultaneously suppliers and consumers. This must be constantly borne in mind, and there must be a conscientious attitude toward work.

Another question which perturbs many workers is the drain of young skilled cadres into cooperatives. The speaker expressed his opinion on the problem of cooperatives, emphasizing that their development, which society certainly needs, must proceed under rigid observance of the principles of social justice and propriety.

The speaker also touched upon the problem of environmental protection, expressing the worries of Volgograd's residents caused by the many ecological questions which still remain unsolved.

Speaking about the work of mass media, the worker noted the press organs' frequently displayed leaning toward sensationalism, which at times has a negative effect.

M.S. Gorbachev: How are things changing as regards food supplies for Volgograd?

A.Ye. Aliferenko: A coupon system is in operation in the city. Detergents—washing powder and soap—are also sold upon presentation of coupons. One can buy chickens, and meat supplies have improved since the new year.

There are no problems with dairy products, but the vegetables situation has deteriorated.

What has to be done to ensure that restructuring does not get bogged down? This was the question with which A.S. Sharanovich, tool maker at the "Minskiy Traktorny Zavod imeni V.I. Lenina" Production Association, began his speech. Our tractor plant, he said, works steadily, and we achieve 100-percent fulfillment of all contracts. What else does one need on the face of it? Just carry on and enjoy life. But the party teaches us that today it is not all that easy to earn money.

Having switched in January 1987 to the first model of economic accountability, we raised wage rates and salary scales and introduced higher night shift payments. But we cannot allow ourselves any further rise of earnings because we are not in a position to justify it through increased production output. We decided to increase the output of consumer goods. But for some reason the Gosstab does not supply the resources necessary for the goods in greater demand, which would be manufactured in excess of plan.

Speaking about what is preventing the plant from switching to the second model of economic accountability, the speaker dwelt in detail on questions of price formation and the rising costs of equipment.

There are major complications with materials, with everything. And questions of price formation must be very carefully monitored, including the formation of export prices. There is something else. As a worker and a family man, I am worried by the rising prices for food and industrial goods.

We support the decision on the question adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers.

M.S. Gorbachev: Now we must do a lot to advance scientific and technical progress, boost labor productivity, reduce prime costs, pave the way for new forms of economic management in the countryside, and reduce the huge expenses now being incurred. This will have an effect on the economy of sovkhozes and kolkhozes—and afterwards we will have to get down to prices, and when we arrive at some suggestions and ideas, this question of prices for food and industrial goods, primarily of food, will be solved after a discussion in the country, after a consultation with the people. As for now, let us think of how to reduce outlays and prime costs, how to boost productivity and produce more, and maybe then there will be a different approach toward prices.

The floor was given to V.S. Chicherov, leader of a fitters' team at the "Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod" Production Association.

In 1988, he said, the shop collective decided to switch to collective contract. We worked a year in this way. The entire shop is working in harmony; everyone feels responsible; people help one another. In 1987 our plant manufactured 19 turbines, and its output was already increased to 25 in 1988. Labor productivity growth was 149 percent; the average wages growth was 121 percent.

Among the shortcomings hindering normal operations, the speaker named the very slow turnabout toward introduction of economic accountability and collective contract in the enterprise as a whole, as well as the fact that some workers have slid to positions enabling them to receive money which they have not earned. The cooperatives at times also play a negative role in this regard. The speaker cited an example: Some workers from his shop were offered to join a cooperative and earn wages between R800 and R1,500. Their wages at the plant are now about R500.

In the worker's opinion, it is possible that a stratum enjoying undeservedly higher incomes could take shape in society, and this is contrary to the principle of social justice. This phenomenon makes honest working people indignant. Worry was also expressed because various youth centers and organizations are penetrated by rogues who pervert young people.

I have spent a long time working on construction sites and I have seen many different initiatives, V.A. Zatvornitskiy, integrated team leader at the Mosstroykomitet [precise expansion unknown] No 1 "Mosstroy" Trust, said. Ours was the first construction workers' integrated team, and it produced a tremendous effect. This is now

the way everybody works. Since 1 September last year we switched to lease contract. Until that time we worked on team contract. Things did not always work out. We decided to have a look at how cooperatives worked. We went to Kovrov and a few other places, and decided that it would be better to switch to leasing, and did so as of 1 September last year. Our earnings have increased, the standard of work has improved, and responsibility has been enhanced.

Our net profit was R104,000. How was it distributed? We put some money aside for social, cultural, and consumer service purposes and new equipment; we paid R20,000 over to the state; we did not overlook social security payments; there was something left for travel vouchers; and there was even some money left to buy apartments. In a year's time we will be entitled to buy 2-3 apartments for the team. Let people enjoy their life.

I must say that leasing is very advantageous; it cannot be compared either with cooperatives or with team and collective contracts. We find that leasing is the only way to earn profits, to ensure that we work better. And so far our team has not fallen flat on its face.

But leasing also needs to be improved. For example, every month we make a deduction of R1,000 for the needs of higher-ranking organizations, and every month we spend R2,000 on team wages. This gives a proportion of one to two. Construction industry workers expected that when the Mosstroykomitet was set up, the number of construction administrations would decline, only amalgamated trusts would remain, and teams would be enlarged. But this did not happen. The committee itself started to enlarge itself and proliferate. We have seen the emergence of organizations which, in my opinion, are not worth a single kopeck.

I have another two questions. The first concerns young people. It is necessary to better combine their education with work, with the demands by real life. This is a major question of state importance, and it is topical not just for the construction industry workers.

And the question about students. We teach them for 5 years. Graduates are then trained on construction sites for a further lengthy period—and so what sort of young specialists are they? Thus they are being trained until they are middle-aged. Not all of them, of course, but many.

And about state acceptance. It must be organized at plants first, and only then should it be introduced on construction sites. How do you straighten the crooked panels sent out by the plant? And yet apartments must be handed over on a "turnkey" basis so that people who move in them should not have a single complaint.

As regards restructuring, the working class is all for it. We will not trail in its wake now; we will march in the vanguard. And this means that we must work better.

Restructuring is on its way in our city and in our plant, but there are shortcomings in certain questions, A.G. Grinchenko, fitter at the "Kharkovskiy 'Serp i Molot' Motorostroitelnyy Zavod" Production Association, said. The collective works steadily, but we receive only a small percentage of the profits. Some 72 percent is paid over to the state budget and the ministry. The remaining 28 percent is not sufficient to fund the housing program and other measures. We calculate that we need at least 40 percent of the profit for these purposes. Workers who spoke before me are also worried by this. It seems to me that this question ought to be reviewed.

We are developing machines for agriculture and we sense that the Central Committee is taking measures to accelerate the solution of this problem. Of course agriculture needs help now. Our plant offers sponsorship assistance to 13 kolkhozes. This requires funds; it requires metal, cement, other materials. Where is it all coming from? From resources saved by the enterprise—so far there are no other sources. In order to ensure that our store shelves have meat and milk in sufficient quantities, as well as potatoes, the help to the countryside must be increased many times over. The following suggestion has been made. Let the ministries plan state orders for sponsorship assistance to the countryside by enterprises, even if no more than 1-3 percent of the total output volume. I am certain that we will see a tangible growth of agricultural output in a year or two.

Something else on the topic of consumer goods. The Kharkov tractor plant has already developed a minitractor. So far we have been making very few of them, just a few dozen. It is necessary to manufacture at least 30,000 of them in order to supply our agriculture with such machines. We spoke about this at the ministry yesterday. We town dwellers must take the needs of rural residents closer to heart.

The floor was taken by K.M. Ashmonas, leader of a shipwrights' team at Klaypeda's "Baltiia" Shipbuilding Plant. Speaking about the situation prevailing in the Lithuanian SSR, he emphasized that the working class and the people in the republic are in favor of restructuring, as opposed to the extremist elements, which go almost as far as to demand Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union.

M.S. Gorbachev: Those who demand Lithuania's secession from the USSR are either people driven by personal ambitions and careerist desires, or they are simply extremists. They are altogether reluctant to accept socialism. It is useless to expect that they will join us in defending our shared values, the workers' and peasants' interests. Let us remain calm, but it is also necessary to resolutely rebuff them. Restructuring must help us investigate and solve all questions. Lenin was fond of reiterating: Work out the general issues before tackling the particular ones. We have asked for the opinion of every republic, of every Central Committee, of scientists, and of the public on problems of interethnic relations. Our main principle is this: Strong center—strong republics.

Take the situation in Armenia, for example. The entire country rushed to assist the republic afflicted by the natural disaster. Therefore, those who mouth slogans against our unity are acting egotistically and selfishly; they do not give a single thought to the people's fate. These slogans are most pernicious; they lead into an impasse.

There are questions and problems that are pressing, and they must be solved. But they must be solved in a principled and respectful fashion, on the basis of harmonizing the interests of all peoples in the republics. How can we allow something to be decided in the interests of just one people and to the detriment of other USSR peoples? The working class must know: We will do everything for the harmonious development of all union soviet republics, for the consolidation of our country's unity.

K.M. Ashmonas: These questions can be solved through economic accountability and democratization. It is necessary to switch to republican economic accountability as early as next year.

In the speaker's opinion, the Lithuanian Communist Party must be given greater autonomy in deciding questions of cadre policy and financial activity.

The speaker supported the thesis of "Strong center—strong republics." He also said that, in his opinion, strong oblasts and strong republics go to make a strong center.

The working class and Communists in the Republic are in favor of the ideas mapped out by restructuring and the 19th all-union party conference.

Before coming to this conference, I met people from about 10 labor collectives from our city, Yu.V. Arkhipov, fitter at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine, said. I was convinced that the people back home are now worried mainly about the ecology. Some 35 years ago we made a great mistake—we sited a metallurgical combine in such a way that housing development now lie only 100 meters away from production units. It is necessary to take resolute measures to improve the ecological situation.

Now about housing. I will not be going far in search of examples. I personally have worked 33 years at the combine. Now I am 52 years old. The question of my housing has only just been resolved.

I believe that we need to resolutely restructure ourselves in this regard. How many people still live in hostels until they reach old age? How many are still waiting in line? Hence the complex family problems. The pace of construction must be speeded up still further.

Something else: What is this coupon-ration system for food supplies in our country? What good are 500 grams of sausage a month for a steel worker, a blast furnace attendant, or a worker tending a coke oven?

As a rank and file Communist, I am now pleased that the people elected good party leaders at all conferences—at combine, city, and oblast level. They have already launched a struggle to improve life for the working class, especially as regards housing.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yuriy Vasilyevich, we are now boosting and will continue to boost housing construction, and huge sums have been appropriated for health care, education, and culture. Last year, however, compared with 1987, the pace of construction slowed down, and such growth was not achieved. Let me tell you this: Everything can be planned, but if work is not organized at local level so that all this is assimilated and translated into facilities, apartments, hospitals, schools, and kindergartens, these programs are of little use. This is why it is necessary to institute proper workers' control in all spheres of life. This is what we agreed with Comrade Shalayev, and this work is now under way.

We started with workers' control in the trade and consumption sphere. Why? Simply because the production of foodstuffs and goods increases every year, while the situation on store shelves fails to improve and actually gets worse in some cities. What is happening to all that, where does it get to? I visited Krasnoyarsk: Workers there raised these questions in trenchant terms. I asked the party kraykom first secretary: Where do the foodstuffs and goods get to? The kray set up a special food commission which analyzes all resources and the way they are distributed. You should have seen the shocking things that came to light!

We realized that total workers' control is needed in the trade and consumption sphere. A woman wrote to me: I have to darn my children's pantyhose, they are nowhere to be found in stores. One smallish store was inspected—and it had about 1,500 or 2,000 pairs of children's pantyhose in stock! These artificial shortages create social tensions. The country's masters—the people—must act more energetically through workers' control. Everything must come within its scope. So you are right in raising this question.

Ye.K. Malkova, studio foreman at the "Siluet" Moscow City Production Association, urgently drew the attention of those present to the causes of the slow growth in labor productivity. The paramount question in this regard, she said, is our attitude toward science and scientific and technical progress. Our country has a tremendous scientific and technical potential, but there is still too much manual labor, especially in light industry, and women represent the bulk of the work force there. We must ensure that research institutes do not underperform and do not distance themselves from the needs of production.

I, the speaker said, work in the services sphere. Now we are facing a multiplicity of problems, and the success of restructuring depends largely on their solution. We rank and file workers in the sector realize that we must maintain service standards regardless of cost. But why is

it that not a single party Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution regarding equipment supplies for the sector has been fulfilled?

Much has already been said here about cooperatives, but nobody touched on one aspect in particular. The people became dissatisfied with them mainly because from the very start, cooperative members and state enterprise workers were placed in unequal conditions. There is an outflow of cadres from the state sector. Consequently, our sector is being bled white; it is losing its best people. There is another aspect of cooperatives' activity: We expected them to flood the market with goods, but all we are getting at times is a new wave of uncontrolled price rises and worse shortages. We will not ignore this. Workers speak about it at election campaign meetings. The lack of guaranteed material and technical supplies for cooperatives has resulted in the disappearance of many goods from the retail trade network.

Comrade Malkova went on to draw attention to pressing questions of improving women's labor and daily life, increasing annual leave entitlement, and creating conditions for children's upbringing.

V.N. Velichko, tea n leader at the Tiraspol Garment Production Association named for the 40th anniversary of the Komsomol, spoke. Our 6,000-strong collective has asked me to say that we fervently support restructuring, she said. We have many problems. The housing problem is very difficult. We switched to economic accountability and self-financing; the money was there; we transferred it to the gorispolkom; but it got in debt to us and owed us very many apartments. It seems to me that this problem could be resolved with the help of the Central Committee. They say: Build using your own resources, but we do not have sufficient capacity for that. If the gorispolkom took the money it should keep its promise.

Now for profit—that concerns us all. Somehow the distribution of profit must also be made dependent on the reduction of labor costs.

M.S. Gorbachev: I have been waiting for such a speech. Many comrades have touched on the question of the profit deduction normative with a view to lowering the normative and leaving more at the plant. Why not put the question in these terms: Make more profit by reducing prime costs and labor costs?

V.N. Velichko: Of course. And we are trying to do that.

A.M. Korolev, leader of a team of lathe operators at the Urals plant of the "Uralmash" Heavy Machine Building Production Association, took the floor.

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In our rayon, he said, they have already begun thinking about creating a council of labor collective council chairmen, in other words, the bureaucratic apparatus superstructure is growing again. This must not be allowed. The labor collective council should work on its

own questions, it has enough of them. Our labor collective council has 77 people, including workers and leaders, but each and every one needs to study now, to study specific economics and how to manage work under economic accountability. We have compiled the corresponding program.

Here is another question. We all want ours to be a rule-of-law state. Indeed, many rights have now been given, although those rights are often utilized by all sorts of demagogues. They speak and hold rallies, but have no responsibility. And there should be responsibility, especially in the education of young people. We must not forget our best traditions; they must be preserved and multiplied.

N.P. Nezhdanov, leader of an integrated team at the "Megiongazstroy" Trust, described how work is progressing under the conditions of the lease contract.

We began from scratch, he said. For 15 years we worked on the team contract, the collective contract, and went through the first and second models of economic accountability, and then this year we switched to the lease contract. What could be better or more democratic than contract relations? The command style and wage levelling are precluded. The most important thing is end results. The true owner of the social means of production appears in the form of the collective. But, unfortunately, quite a lot of time has passed, and progress with the lease contract is sluggish. Many collectives which think that they are working by that method are mistaken. But the leaders can rest easy—the accounts are being kept. The problem is that there is no law on the lease. So what happens is that departments elaborate their own statutes on it.

M.S. Gorbachev: There will soon be a decree on the lease, and afterwards a law, too.

N.P. Nezhdanov: At the same time it is necessary to create the basis for wholesale trade in the means of production. Only then will the lease work, I believe.

You read the paper or you watch television: Our leading economists are speaking and emphasizing that restructuring will work when true economic accountability and the lease begin working to full capacity. So, perhaps they should be given an opportunity to set to work on this in specific sectors?

We all know how we used to work before, V.A. Saar, team leader of a construction administration at the "Tallinstroy" Trust, said. But we must think how to work better in the future. I believe that it is very important that people should feel that they are the true masters in their republic, kray, or oblast. After all, no one knows the local potential better than they do. Nor should people wait for orders from Moscow on every question.

Restructuring without construction is impossible. That is why we must develop that sector. But at the moment we are not working too well and cannot even compare

with the best foreign experience. This means, in particular, that our foremen and engineers are not giving enough return—and therefore the workers have no desire to work more efficiently. Yet our people are in no way inferior, and furthermore we know how to work just as fast and well as the most developed countries. Why is there a brake then?

In my opinion, the obstacle is the lack of healthy competition. If in one city there were several not too large construction organizations they could compete among themselves—to the benefit of people and the cause as a whole. That way there would be greater return. And the loss of people to the cooperatives could be reduced then. After all, it is no secret that they earn more there.

I am a lessee and I feel that I am the boss in my work place—behind the wheel of a truck, said S.N. Sysoyev, a driver at the Khimkinskiy Truck Haulage Enterprise in Moscow Oblast. After completing all the planned trips, each enterprise driver can use his vehicle to serve the population. And in literally 6 months the lease has enabled our rayon to fully satisfy the population's demand for vehicular transport.

The lease contract also provides an opportunity to earn during your vacation. If you want to work during your vacation then go ahead, take a vehicle, pay a certain amount to the cash office, and go to a sovkhos where they need transport, for example.

The speaker voiced serious complaints about the working conditions of drivers operating vehicles with gas fuel: If there is a gas leak, this affects working ability. He also stressed that in the mass switch of vehicle enterprises to the lease contract, the question of introducing wholesale trade in fuel inevitably arises. I think that this is a fundamental question, he said.

I am glad, N.L. Nozhinskaya, forewoman of the "Latviya" Garment Production Association in Riga, said, that I can take part in such an interesting conversation and share my concerns, worries, and cares about my Republic and the Union as a whole.

Many good resolutions have been adopted on the priority of light industry, but this has remained largely on paper. In Latvia, too, quite a few plans have remained mere plans. The speaker dwelt on the specific problems of the enterprise. One of them is the large size of the management apparatus. Recently, N.L. Nozhinskaya said, our general director familiarized himself with the work of a garment firm in England. There are 350 people at that enterprise and just 5 managers. Our apparatus must be five times that size.

I met with the minister, Comrade Klyuyev, and asked whether there could at least be a temporary reduction in budget contributions for those enterprises which have

entered the complex period of restructuring. The minister said that all the allocations have been made for this 5-year plan. But if we have restructuring here, can't we at least break out of those allocations? Why make everyone fit the same pattern?

Garment makers have the following proposal to make. The state and our enterprise together—we train the seamstresses and grade them, but the cooperative gets the trained specialists. So we surely need to create a law whereby the cooperative compensates the enterprise for receiving a good and experienced worker.

The speaker subsequently spoke about the need to increase the attention paid to garment makers' social needs, primarily questions of wages and pension provision.

N.A. Balanovskaya, director of the "Trekhgornaya Manufaktura" Combine, took the floor. Yesterday we met with members of our combine's labor collective council, she said, and determined the main problems which needed to be discussed. They are the problems of young workers and the young working family.

Take everyday life, for instance. Many people come to us at Trekhgorka for advanced experience. From them we learn that in Minsk, Tiraspol, and many other cities conditions in workers' hostels are considerably better than in ours.

Student hostels are not the same as workers' hostels. In the one we can clearly see that this is a temporary arrangement—for 5 or, at most, 6 years. It is a completely different matter when there is no certainty as to how long you will have to live in such conditions. I think that this question should be resolved more quickly.

Furthermore, when our young workers arrive at the production unit, do they always see the equipment of their dreams? Now the defense complex has been commissioned to provide us with equipment. We will live and survive for another 12-18 months. But after that the return must accelerate.

A few words about prices. We had an 84 percent deductions normative. The combine is 200 years old and, of course, it needs resources for renovation. In the main we obtained those resources by selling goods at enhanced prices using index N (new goods). Now price restrictions have been introduced, and rightly so. But these prices are established as the base. We must overcome this complex situation within the year which began after the conclusion of the contracts.

And another point—the attitude toward home-produced consumer goods. For example, everyone constantly criticizes television sets and many other goods. But why, then, as it turns out, have train loads been exported to other countries? People must prefer them. Why are our fabrics bought abroad, and bought willingly? They must prefer them, too. But on the other hand, we constantly ignore the fact that many of the goods received from other countries are not up to the required standard.

M.S. Gorbachev: There is an inferiority complex here. Many capitalists have long been very interested in our scientific inventions and technologies, and have now begun to gradually become accustomed to our equipment, cars, tractors, and machine tools—and they are all buying up licences. They even subscribe to our journals so as to glean information from them. Comrades, we have set the task of freeing ourselves of the import plague, particularly regarding science and technology. That does not mean that we are proposing to close ourselves off and isolate ourselves from the world. Nevertheless, it is necessary to rely on Soviet machine building, Soviet science and technology, and on our own efforts. We have all those things.

N.A. Balanovskaya: Only we must not forget our worth. There is much that we can already do well up to standard. We must understand that and not be afraid of taking pride in our ability.

Ye.I. Fomin, general director of the Ryazan Electronic Instruments Production Association, shared his experience in resolving important social problems. In particular, he talked about the large subsidiary plot created at the enterprise.

On problems of housing construction the speaker stressed that at the enterprise an order has been given under which each member of the collective, including the director, his deputies, and the party committee secretary, are required to learn a building trade. Fomin himself is a trainee bricklayer, has been awarded grade two, and has worked on building a house. Restructuring is progressing in the country and, the speaker believes, everyone must participate actively in it.

Workers and leaders, the speaker said in conclusion, must do everything to ensure that everyone works to full capacity and devotes his knowledge and skill to the cause of restructuring.

Kh.A. Isamukhamedov, engineer at the Tashkent Diesel Locomotive Depot, devoted his speech to the problems of regional economic accountability. He stressed, inter alia, that under these conditions business contacts between all the union republics, which are links in a single economic complex, must be strengthened. One should not retreat into one's own territorial shell.

I.R. Nozimova, cocoon winder at Dushanbe's Silk Combine and member of the enterprise's women's council, sent a note asking to be given the floor. She and many other workers are troubled by the problems of the reconstruction of the production facility, which is still proceeding at an extremely laggardly pace. Yet we all need to learn to work considerably more productively in order to live a better life. You can't get by without new equipment here.

What about the quality of this equipment? For I myself had to work for 3 years using this equipment. I had a hard time of it. Money and quality were lost and the raw material was turned into defective goods. That is why I say—where are our scientists and our designers?

My second question is—90 percent of the combine's employees are working mothers who find it hard to work on a three-shift basis. Many of them have large families. It is no coincidence that the production unit has a labor shortage. Since a network of children's establishments hasn't been developed, the work force has to stay at home with the children. There are also transport difficulties—for instance, there is a shortage of buses, and they are old. These are not trifling matters. For restructuring is for people, and no questions are trivial here.

V.F. Litvinov, a milling machine operator at Voronezh's Heavy Excavator Production Association, took the rostrum. Many people, he pointed out, have talked about their profitable work, but I must admit that we failed to meet the plan last year. We had a shortfall of 194 excavators out of a total of 1,200. There are many reasons for this. They include old equipment, cadre problems, and unwarranted normatives for deductions.

We are worried, the speaker said, about how to ensure that workers themselves strive for restructuring. Let's be honest. Most of us are not very well versed in economic matters. How are we to ensure that workers themselves set about studying? For instance, a grade two machine tool operator should endeavor to become a grade five machine tool operator. He's not interested in that today. I reckon that our piece-rate remuneration has become outmoded. It has begun to hold back advances in quality and high production efficiency.

I reckon that pay packets should take greater account of the differential between grades, and the differential itself should be greater. A grade increment should only be awarded after a worker has taken an economic literacy test or courses, whatever you like to call them. We should ensure that he has the inner motivation by saying if you want to earn more, go and study and take a grade qualifying test. Isn't it time for scientists and economists to tackle workers' problems directly, to ensure that everyone works actively for restructuring and overcomes their apathy and indecisiveness?

A word about the press. In my opinion, our publications carry too many insufficiently in-depth or conflicting articles. Aren't we forgetting that, to use Lenin's words, the newspaper is not only the collective propagandist and agitator, but also the collective organizer?

We have sweated blood to achieve glasnost, the speaker said, and we must not allow restructuring to be compromised and besmirched.

M.D. Atabayev, general director of Dzhambul's "Khimprom" Production Association, took the floor: A large complex producing yellow phosphorus and phosphate feeds has been set up in the south of Kazakhstan.

As of last year we encountered a serious obstacle—the state order for phosphates was canceled and many livestock units began to reject our phosphate feeds with the transfer to economic accountability.

This year we will manage, albeit with difficulty, to fulfill the plan—owing to one-shot exports. But we are still worried about the future—the most important thing. We don't ask for amendments or even changes to the normatives. We will work. But we need to make plans for 1990 and the 13th 5-Year Plan. Is there perhaps a point in reorienting our production? In any case, we must make some decision. Under these conditions, we must boost the activeness of self-management and the role of labor collective councils.

V.F. Bardyshev, leader of a team of mine workers at "Yuzhkuzbassugol" Production Association's "Novokuznetskaya" Mine (Kemerovo Oblast) and chairman of a labor collective council, began his speech by talking about the problems of a proprietorial attitude to the utilization of resources. We don't often think about what we will leave behind us when we engage in mineral extraction. I would like to dwell on open-cut coal mining in the Kuzbass. Under the leadership of the Ministry of the Coal Industry, we are ruining fertile land—land that should have been allocated to the peasant. The Gosplan is planning to increase Kuzbass coal production by another 20 million tonnes. I reckon, the speaker continued, that this is an ill-conceived decision. Pit construction leads to a further reduction in fertile land. We are asking for the solution of this question to be tackled in a better considered fashion.

In so doing, account should be taken of the fact that millions of tons of coal have accumulated in the Kuzbass, which cannot be carted away owing to the shortage of freightcars. Loans should be taken in order to settle up with workers for the coal that has been mined, and then the money should be repaid with interest. We have simply received no answer no matter where we raise these questions and no matter to whom we appeal.

While speaking about economic accountability and a proprietorial attitude to matters, I cannot fail to dwell on the cost of equipment. A Soviet-made complex costs up to R2 million, yet some people obtain the same foreign equipment for R14 million. I think that it is much more advisable to produce this equipment in our country.

It is planned that our mine should surrender 150 tons of metal for scrap each month. Who precisely has set these normatives? Whereas previously, when economic accountability did not exist, we did not particularly take this into account and simply surrendered the metal or, to be more precise, the equipment to be scrapped, today we are counting up the cost. We don't have that amount of scrap metal, so we have to scrap costly equipment. Is this really being thrifty?

In conclusion, Comrade Bardyshev dwelt on questions of speeding up the transition to new methods of economic activity. Collectives are today proposing to lease

plants in order to sharply boost production effectiveness in a short period of time. But the Ministry of the Coal Industry is at present opposing this. A collective switches to the lease, and the apparatus is afraid that payments will drop.

N.M. Pyatchits, fitter and assembler at Moscow's I.A. Likhachev Automobile Plant, spoke. He voiced misgivings over the fact that, in his opinion, the prestige of the working class and its role have declined somewhat. Why? If we, the working class, were indeed constantly involved in production management and in running the country, we would probably not turn to the Politburo in every instance, and would not be asking why the ecological question has not been resolved at our enterprise, or social and consumer conditions not improved. But I think that we are now showing our political inertia to a certain extent despite the fact that we are nevertheless—and I agree with many people—still the most socially active and the largest class in our society. For many years we were estranged from production management and from participation in resolving state questions, and our party leaders forgot to consult the people.

The speaker touched on problems associated with Afghanistan and the positive response both within the country and abroad in connection with the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. He touched on the flaws in the head-on struggle for sobriety. We must rear harmoniously developed individuals and highly cultured people and fill their leisure hours in order to combat drunkenness. This is a long-term program.

Then the speaker dealt with questions of cooperatives' activity and stressed that he is in favor of those cooperatives which produce material assets.

Speaking about the nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputy, N.M. Pyatchits announced that only 16 workers have won success in 27 Moscow okrugs. Some production collectives cannot discern the worthy people among their own milieu and give preference to candidates "pulled in from off the street."

The floor was given to S.F. Matyushchenko, an optical grinder at the Amur Machine Building Plant. The people of the Far East, he said, support restructuring, but they are alarmed by the division that exists between the decisions adopted and their practical implementation. The situation is taking shape whereby correct decisions are taken at the top, but somewhere along the line they are eroded and reach us in a distorted form. This leads to losses in restructuring. That is not only my stance. That is what most people in the Far East believe. As for the system of economic management, in the speaker's opinion no particular improvements are visible here, above all in the work of central organs, ministries, and departments. They still exercise diktat over labor collectives.

The decline in the real income of the people of the Far East and the inhabitants of the northern regions, in comparison with the inhabitants of the country's central and southern regions, is also a source of disquiet. The

decision now being drafted to regulate regional rates must take into account, and bring rates in the northern regions into line with, the maximum, at state budget expense; otherwise it will be impossible to recruit specialists or hang onto the indigenous population in order to develop Siberia and the Far East most rapidly.

The speaker considered that the reform of the political system at local level is being unjustifiably prolonged; this applies in particular to the boosting of local soviets' rights. There is still no clarity on questions of forming their budgets, and the economic mechanism for collaboration between various level soviets—in rayons, cities, and krays—has not been organized. Diktat by higher-ranking organs continues here once again.

While speaking about the new electoral system, the speaker pointed out certain shortcomings, in particular with regard to the guaranteed participation of representatives of the working masses, workers, and peasants. In practice, preference is given to the intelligentsia, employees, and technical workers. Some people even state that the coming first USSR Congress of People's Deputies is not a congress for production front-runners. The worker should only stand at the work bench, and it is said that only members of the intelligentsia are capable of resolving state questions.

In his speech the speaker also dwelt on certain questions relating to the region's economy and ecology, and other vital problems affecting the population of the Far East.

The conversation continued with an exchange of opinions and rejoinders from the floor. The following took part in the exchange of opinions: V.V. Pushkarev, grinder at Moscow's Analytical Calculator Plant; V.Zh. Mukishev, leader of "Ekibastuzgol" Association's "Bogatyr" Pit team; I.G. Feklov, drilling foreman at "Kuybyshevneft" Association; A.I. Marchenko, team leader at Khrakov's House Construction Combine; Yu.K. Shulga, shaft sinker at "Soyuzgidrospetsstroy" Administration; A.I. Seredich, team leader at "Pechenganikel" Combine; T.F. Gavrilova, operative at "Fosforit" Production Association; A.S. Kasimokhodzhayev, operative at Chirchikskiy "Elektrokhimprom" Production Association; G.G. Silkin, electrolysis operative at Irkutsk Aluminum Plant; F.G. Fakhriyeva, streetcar driver at Kazan's Streetcar and Trolleybus Administration; A.A. Khanevich, leader of a team of fitters at "Grodnozhilstroy" Production Association; V.V. Andriyevskiy, crane operator at "Astrakhanburgaz" Trust; and N.A. Stakla, leader of a team of electricians at Riga's "Avtoelektropribor" Plant.

M.S. Gorbachev summed up the results of the meeting.

16 February CPSU Politburo Session Reported
PM1902193989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] At the 16 February CPSU Central Committee Politburo session, a complex of issues connected with improving the financial state of the economy and

strengthening the monetary circulation in the country was examined. In the discussion, in which first secretaries of Communist Party central committees and chairmen of the presidiums of supreme soviets and councils of ministers of union republics took part, it was emphasized that at present the solution of financial problems acquires primary significance for a consistent implementation of the Party course for strengthening the social orientation of the country's economic development and extending radical economic reform.

The complex financial situation is primarily conditioned by the burden of unresolved problems in the field of the economy, its extensive development, a decline in production efficiency during the preceding period, and disproportions in many sectors of the national economy—which has led to a reduction in the growth of the state's financial resources. In the preparation of the plans for the 12th 5-year plan these factors were not fully taken into consideration, in the light of which we have not succeeded in reaching the level of efficiency and resource-saving which would have made it possible to change the situation significantly. It was emphasized that improving the financial situation and monetary circulation lay along the paths of perfecting the structure of production, consistently implementing economic reform, and introducing scientific and technical progress achievements.

Attention was drawn to the necessity to put cost-cutting mechanisms more widely into action and to fully develop leasing relations, wholesale trade, strict observance of normative timescales in construction, and reductions in stocks at enterprises. The resources released as a result of this should be used for saturating the market with consumer goods and strengthening monetary circulation. In solving all these tasks it is important to draw lessons equally from the past and from the recent years, and to match our actions with the real possibilities while relying on scientific analysis.

Urgent measures were defined, the implementation of which will make it possible in the immediate future to slow down the negative tendencies in the economy and in finance and monetary circulation, and improve the consumer market situation. It is proposed to significantly reduce outlays from the state budget—above all those for financing centralized capital investments in the production sphere, for defense and administration—and to increase state revenues mainly through raising production efficiency and eliminating loss-making production, and through a more active use of various forms of mobilizing monetary resources in all sectors of public sector production.

For the purpose of normalizing monetary circulation it is planned in 1989 to increase commodity resources additionally for sale to the population and cooperatives through expanding the production of consumer goods.

Some products designated for production and technical purposes, as well as timber and building materials, will be additionally directed to the consumer market. Ensuring a closer coordination between wages and the end results of an enterprises' work is envisaged.

The session examined draft general principles of restructuring the management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics on the basis of self-management and self-financing, prepared by the USSR Council of Ministers with the participation of the councils of ministers of the union republics and the country's scientific institutions. It was noted that the proposals contained in the draft were directed at democratizing the whole system of managing the national economy, significantly expanding the economic independence and responsibility of the republic, and organically combining all-union and regional interests. It is proposed to establish close dependence between economic development and an increase in the level of the populations' well-being, the resources at the disposal of each republic and the end results of its economic activity, and its contribution to the single national economic complex of the country. A new mechanism of forming the budgets of the union republics is aimed at solving this task.

Much of the draft concerns questions on the delimitation of powers between the USSR and the union republics, improvements in the forms and methods of local management, and an expansion of the republics' rights in various fields of activity. Attention is especially drawn to raising the role of the republics in undertaking the protection of nature. Ultimately the implementation of the planned measures will promote the extension of cooperation, and the speeding up of the socioeconomic development of every republic and the country as a whole. It is intended to publish the draft in the central and republican press for wide discussion.

The meeting discussed proposals received from the public on improving taxation policy. There was an examination of proposals relating to cooperatives. It was deemed expedient to hand over the solution of this matter for the consideration of union republics, which accords with the course being pursued of expanding their rights and increasing their role in managing social and economic development and introducing the principles of self-management and self-financing at a regional level.

The meeting examined the results of Comrade Zaykov's working visit to the SFRY. There was confirmation of the invariable comradely solidarity of the CPSU with the efforts of the LCY and its leadership to overcome crisis manifestations in society, and to implement reforms of the party and the political and economic systems.

The results of Comrade Medvedev's working visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania were approved. Note was taken of the striving by both sides to make fuller use of the potential of Soviet-Romanian interaction. The plan for ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the

RCP for the years 1989-90, which was signed in Bucharest, creates the prerequisites for a more intensive exchange of experience and discussion of pressing problems regarding socialist construction, and for the expansion and deepening of contacts between party and public organizations, between creative unions and the mass information media, and for communication between work collectives.

After considering the results of Comrade Slyunkov's working visit to the GDR, the Politburo stated that his meetings and conversations with the SED Central Committee leadership had been an important step in coordinating the main areas for mutual economic cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. It emphasized the importance of the joint measures that had been outlined for broadening the exchange of experience on economic construction, strengthening interaction in priority areas of scientific and technological progress, and creating the essential conditions for a deepening of joint production and the broad dissemination of direct contacts and other progressive forms of cooperation.

The session discussed the results of Comrade Shevardnadze's official visit to the PRC. It was noted with satisfaction that as a result of discussions and talks with Chinese leaders, an important step was taken in improving the relations and strengthening confidence between the two countries, and practical preparation of a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting was started. It was agreed that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev would visit the PRC 15-18 May 1989. The forthcoming meeting will determine the main guidelines for the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations, and will lay the foundation for strengthening good-neighborliness and cooperation. In this respect, the accord, in principle, to begin negotiations on mutual, balanced reductions in armed forces and armaments to minimal levels, in the area of the Soviet-Chinese border, is of great importance, as is mutual interest in the two countries' border becoming a zone of peace and friendship.

The exchange of views in Beijing confirmed that both sides saw great potential for the expansion of trade and economic connections, and are ready to use new forms of these possibilities. Confidence was expressed that a full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations would be a major contribution to the achievement of detente, stability, and cooperation in relations between countries and people, and would not affect the interests of third countries.

Comrade Shevardnadze's report on his working visit to Pakistan was examined. The importance of the joint Soviet-Pakistani statement was noted, in which the sides expressed support for the achievement of a political settlement in Afghanistan, and reaffirmed their intent to promote the creation of a broad-based government which should be formed through the efforts of Afghans themselves. At the same time it was emphasized that with the departure of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the use of Pakistan's territory for interference in Afghan

internal affairs becomes especially inadmissible. The hope was expressed that the Pakistani authorities would adhere to the promise made by them to promote the speediest release and return to their homeland of the Soviet servicemen captured by the Afghan opposition. A just and complete settlement of the situation in Afghanistan would create favorable conditions for Soviet-Pakistani relations to reach new levels.

CPSU Central Committee Ideology Chief Interviewed
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[A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, answers readers' questions: "By Force of Example, by Force of Conviction"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The restructuring of all party life is taking place against the background of the restoration of the Leninist concept of the party and the enhancement of its role as society's political vanguard. The significance of elected organs is increasing, the structure of the party apparatus is being improved, and the apparatus has been reorganized—from raykoms through to the CPSU Central Committee.

An Ideology Department has been formed in the Central Committee. After press reports on the recent first session of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Commission, which also heard a report on the functions and structure of this subdivision of the Central Committee apparatus, PRAVDA readers have been asking for a more detailed account of the Ideology Department's activity. The editorial office asked Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A.S. Kapto, chief of the department and a CPSU Central Committee member, to answer the questions: What are the main directions and priority tasks facing the department? How is the restructuring of ideological work in party committees faring?

[Kapto] Some Central Committee commissions, including the Ideology Commission, were created in accordance with the 19th All-Union Party Conference's decisions. The department works under the Ideology Commission's direct leadership. Its purpose was clearly defined in M.S. Gorbachev's note to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo dated 24 August 1988 "On the question of reorganizing the party apparatus."

The Ideology Department is a fundamentally new subdivision of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus both in structure and in the content of its activity. When setting it up we rejected old principles such as the territorial-departmental approach, the fragmentation of internal subdivisions, and the tendency toward the solution of nonparty tasks. The structural elements of the department have been amalgamated on the basis of six subdepartments, each of which has a clearly defined functional purpose.

Now in brief about the main directions of their activity:

The subdepartment of fundamental scientific research includes the sectors of the comprehensive problems of the development of science, philosophical, economic, and historical sciences, and party scientific and educational institutions. Staffers' efforts will be focused on the analysis and organization of the study of the theoretical problems of the party's ideological activity in the conditions of restructuring. We are fully aware now of the profundity of Lenin's idea on the significance of revolutionary theory. At this crucial historical stage the party could not ensure the role of political vanguard and generator of ideas or possess social initiative without working constantly on questions of theory.

The party propaganda subdepartment includes the sectors of the theory and practice of ideological work and party study as well as groups of response organizers [otvet-organizator] and lecturers. The very title and structure of the subdepartment indicate that its main purpose is vigorous ideological activity developing into the practical attainment of a theory and policy aimed at ensuring that the ideas of restructuring are grasped by the masses. This subunit is the element which organizes a close link between the entire department and local party committees.

The mass media subdepartment does not imitate the structure and functions of its former namesake. It includes the sectors of the periodical press, television and radio broadcasting, book publishing, and mass media effectiveness. Its main task is the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee guidelines on the leadership of the mass media and on increasing the efficiency of their work.

The subdepartment on foreign political information and international ties has sectors of analysis and long-term programs, current information, humanitarian problems, and international ties. It also existed before. However, the needs of the restructuring of the foreign policy sphere and the advancement of the priority of general human interests and values sharply redirect our informational and ideological activity in the international arena and place all aspects of the new political thinking at the center of this work.

The newly created subdepartment of the problems of the training and education of young people consists of the sectors of general secondary education, vocational training, Marxist-Leninist education, and the comprehensive problems of the upbringing of young people. Such a structure, in our view, made it possible to avoid the departmental management of the system of the country's educational institutions, but at the same time provides an opportunity to concentrate fully on the tasks of pursuing the policy of restructuring public education and the upbringing of young people as set by the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The culture and arts subdepartment consists of the sectors of the comprehensive problems of the development of culture, literature, arts, mass cultural work, and links with the public. This unit will help formulate and implement the party's cultural policy and promote the consolidation of the creative intelligentsia around the ideas of restructuring and on the basis of socialist ideals. This is a question now of the **creative collaboration** of party committees and the intelligentsia and the crystallization of views, ideas, and positions on constructive principles.

A consultants group is being created within the department whose aim will be to prepare analytical materials and study the key problems of the ideological process and the theory and practice of restructuring.

I think that the mere listing of the subdepartments and sectors shows how vast the range of our concerns is. It is necessary first and foremost to ensure the thorough study of the dynamics of social life and the scientific analysis of social consciousness, master the comprehensive approach to the ideological process, and generalize and disseminate positive experience.

The essence of the restructuring of ideological work was defined in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference and in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches at the party Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and at meetings with representatives of the creative unions, the mass media, and other ideological institutions. The meeting on January 6 this year and M.S. Gorbachev's speech there are of special significance. Our direct duty is to organize the implementation of the demands put forward in the light of the specific features of the contemporary stage of society's life. Now is the time of the practical implementation of the restructuring tasks put forward by the party and the embodiment of its ideas in the daily activity of millions of people. This also dictates the demands on ideological workers in all sections of the party—from primary organizations through to the CPSU Central Committee.

[Editorial office] In the new sociopolitical atmosphere both Communists and nonparty people are showing their civic stance far more actively and are openly expressing and defending their views. On the whole the majority supports the course of restructuring and is trying to contribute to its implementation. But there are also contradictions in the approaches to the solution of particular problems and a polarization of opinions which goes beyond the usual framework, as it were. What can you tell us about this, Aleksandr Semenovitch?

[Kapto] Indeed, many things seem unusual and appear in acute forms. A true revolution of social consciousness has begun in the country. An active process of asserting the ideology of renewal in people's minds is under way.

At the same time trends in social thinking are developing in a complex and contradictory way. The great gulf between the theoretical consciousness and the consciousness of everyday life persists. Maybe now people have

more questions than answers. One-sided and often erroneous ideas have been circulating because of a lack of firm scientific knowledge. Attitudes of conservatism and avant-gardism and the activation of demagoguery, nationalist manifestations, petit-bourgeois views, and political extremism are the reality.

There must be determined and persistent work aimed at reorienting the social consciousness toward the solution of specific practical tasks.

Of course, it would be naive to think that a breakthrough can be achieved by the efforts of ideologists alone. People's consciousness is molded to a decisive extent by social relations, actual living conditions, and the practical activity of the party and all political institutions. The dialectic of the interaction of consciousness and social practice is not a simple one, and for the ship of restructuring to steer clear of the reef of deformations and for social consciousness to develop in a socialist direction there is a vital need for intensive, creative, intellectual ideological education work free from the dogma and stereotype, cliché and formalism of past years.

That is why the CPSU Central Committee regards the renewal of our ideology as on a par with the radical reform of the economy and the political system and the process of the democratization of the whole life of society and the party. Hence, too, the scale of the task facing ideological cadres and the *aktiv* and the measure of their responsibility for the fate of restructuring.

It must be acknowledged frankly: Ideological workers today are far from always equal to the new demands. We can only be alarmed at the fact that in the complex and, as it were, extreme [*ekstremalnyy*] situations they sometimes adopt defensive postures, await commands and instructions from above, are not ready for a direct and frank dialogue with people, and do not have the ability to convince the latter, to mobilize them or win them over.

This is particularly important when dealing with the complex and subtle questions of internationalist education and when problems of national relations have come to the fore. They demand of party committees a prompt response and the ability to assess the situation quickly and correctly. Not to trail in the wake of events but to formulate prompt and effective measures so that emotions do not prevail over reason. We have the right to ask: Why have many Communists not taken principled stands in acute situations? Why did party members not speak out when there was a need to rebuff manifestations of national egoism and chauvinism?

The most important thing now, I suppose, is to ensure that all Communists are true political fighters.

Why is there a backlog in some areas? I think primarily because the organization, style, and even the content of day-to-day ideological work which came about in past years still bear the imprint of leadership methods based on

command and pressure, dogmatism, and depressing uniformity. There was also the effect of the old malaise of the apparatus—the underestimation of sociopolitical experience and the level of the masses' ideological maturity.

[Editorial office] Attention is drawn to that by letter writers analyzing the situation at local level. They report, for instance, that the activity of people enthused by restructuring was not to the liking of some local leaders. Such was the case, for example, in Kuybyshev, on Sakhalin, and in Yaroslavl Oblast....

[Kapto] Yes, the discrepancy between word and deed is a chronic complaint which is hard to cure. It prevents people from grasping the situation and ensuring effective party influence on the course of events. The ideologist, as V.I. Lenin wrote, "is worthy of the name only when he is *ahead* of the spontaneous movement and shows it the way to go, and when he can resolve all theoretical, political, tactical, and organizational questions more quickly than the others...." (Vol 5, p 363). This must be learned. The old approaches and methods of action, based merely on traditions and habits and the intuition and empirical knowledge of the *aktiv*, "do not work" today. Everywhere and in all things there must be a truly scientific analysis, conclusions validated as precisely as possible, and innovative and bold solutions.

As was demonstrated by the recent conference at the CPSU Central Committee with the chiefs of party committees' ideology departments and the leaders of the mass media and ideological institutions and departments, there have been changes for the better although they have not been as tangible as life demands. Party committees are ridding themselves of methods based on command and injunction and are really learning to follow Lenin's principle of knowing how to convince people "not by force of power but by force of prestige, by force of energy, greater experience, greater diversity, and greater talent" (Vol 7, p 14). Success is achieved where people boldly reject cumbersome plans and general solutions, the endless stream of paperwork and slogan-based propaganda. Where people are geared not to "forms" or the number of measures but to the solution of specific tasks and real problems and to tackling the bottlenecks and "sore" spots which affect people's moods.

The new approaches to ideological work and the reform of the political system make fundamentally new demands on our cadres. Many worthy people have come forward here in the transition to the new structure and during the recently completed report-and-election campaign in the party organizations. The paramount task now is to organize the purposeful training of cadres in a new way and help them master the ideology of renewal and gain a modern work style. Courses for secretaries and chiefs of ideology departments of the republic communist party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms and editors of republic and oblast newspapers will be held this year under the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. We are also training other categories of ideological cadres and the *aktiv*.

I would like to stress once more: The creation of ideology departments in party committees represents not just a change of name but a major practical step in restructuring and in enhancing the effectiveness of the most important sphere of the party's activity.

[Editorial office] What bearing will this have on the specific areas of ideological education work today?

[Kapto] Whatever sphere we look at, it is necessary to bear in mind that the individual is at the focus of all our efforts. Restructuring is being implemented for the sake of the individual. It is from these positions that we proceed in our efforts to improve the ideological-political, labor, moral, legal, patriotic, atheistic, economic, and other spheres of educational work.

The firm establishment in people's consciences of socialist values and ideals and the molding of ideological convictions demand special attention. Today, when life has dispelled the myths about "complete unanimity," "monolithic cohesion," and other propaganda clichés, we are witnessing not only the emergence of divergent opinions but also of group egoism and a lack of political and even general culture. There have also been attempts to cast aspersions on, and even to "revise," fundamental ideological principles, and what is more, sometimes these attempts have come from people whom we are used to count as our aktiv. Consequently, in Lenin's words, it is necessary to explain the foundations of Marxism afresh, the defense of the theory of Marxism is again on the agenda (Vol 20, p 58).

The current perception of socialism is set forth in the documents of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. It is based on the fundamental ideas of Marxist-Leninist theory, the generalization of our own practice, including revolutionary restructuring, and the socialist countries' experience in both its positive and its negative aspects. The wealth of the world civilization's values, which belong to all mankind, also serves as a basis for the current concept of socialism. This calls for a deepening of theoretical research and, of course, broad propaganda of new knowledge and the application of this knowledge in practice.

It cannot be denied that our social sciences are so far finding it difficult to overcome the legacy of the times of stagnation. Frequently, they are not only not ahead of social practice, they are even finding it difficult to interpret the new realities of social life. Certain scientists continue to adopt the stance of observers. Others, on the contrary, draw hasty generalizations, display incompetence and subjectivism, and are categorical in their views. It will be necessary to work out the steps to be taken to improve the planning and coordination of research and its links with the requirements of social practice. It is also unquestionable that the problem of the influx of new, fresh creative forces is becoming more topical.

There also are not a few so-called unresolved questions in the work of party committees. For instance, how can the transition to political and ideological methods be ensured? As is known, measures to demarcate the functions of party, soviet, trade union, and economic organs have been adopted. However, so far party committees frequently have to attend directly to matters concerning production, supply, and so forth. It is necessary to combine ideology and economy in man's mind. The task, consequently, is to ensure that the socioeconomic transformations mold the active personality of the working man while ideological education work helps to strengthen in him the sense of being in charge, of being an active participant and fighter for economic and social progress.

Today, when new economic forms are entering our life, when leasing, economic accountability, the cooperative system, and all kinds of individual labor activity are being introduced, it is necessary on one hand to seek to overcome prejudice toward these new forms, to overcome conservatism in the way of thinking and acting. On the other hand, to constantly seek to ensure that the development of these forms takes place on a sound basis. It is necessary to firmly establish in the social consciousness the paramount importance of quality in the broad sense of this term, and to overcome the mentality of leveling and freeloading. And at the same time to ensure the prestige of an honest, conscientious attitude toward labor and to combat disorderliness in production. Lenin's behest "to learn to work" is topical to this day.

Finally, it is necessary to emphasize especially that our propaganda must not sow illusions, as has frequently been the case in the past; it must not present wishful thinking as reality. Realism, a sober, truthful look at things—these are immutable demands. Ideological workers are called upon to see their goal clearly, to warn about, rather than conceal, possible difficulties and problems, to be able to unite people, and to create an atmosphere of harmonious work and creative quest. This is the only way to gain trust.

This applies in equal measure to other spheres of ideological education work. It is abundantly clear, for instance, that it is necessary to create a comprehensive system of moral education. After all, restructuring is the rebirth of morality everywhere, it is the cleansing of society of amorality, lack of discipline, total license, and cynicism. This has to be done with the direct involvement of the working people themselves.

Unfortunately, it is impossible here to dwell in detail on all the areas of ideological work, and specifically on the problems of the elaboration of the new political thinking. I can only say that all of them are at the focus of the Ideology Department's attention.

[Editorial office] Some people are alarmed at the fact that, as distinct from past years, when everything was perfectly clear to everyone, as it were, when everything

was beyond doubt, diverse views, sometimes diametrically opposed views are now being expressed on many problems. Don't you agree that in actual fact it is not easy, for propagandists and lecturers for instance, to answer questions in labor collectives or student halls....

[Kopto] Quite so. It is difficult, but we must learn to work in conditions of a pluralism of opinions and take full account of the wealth of collective experience and collective thought of the party and the people. We must provide scope for rather than suppress the diverse interests and needs and gear them to the revolutionary renewal of society; we must help people to learn to master democracy and the new political culture.

The political reform, and in particular the election campaign which is under way in the country, are setting favorable conditions in this respect. It is no exaggeration to say that we have never before experienced such an intense campaign struggle. The CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Party and the Soviet People defines the main spheres of the party organizations' ideological work. Today more than ever before it is necessary to ensure a differentiated approach to the various categories of Soviet people—working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, veterans, women, and young people, and especially students—to skillfully take account of their special characteristics, respond sensitively to their proposals and requests, and conduct well-conceived individual work with them.

A very important question is the attitude toward self-motivated, so-called informal associations. Their emergence in the period of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost is an objective development. The party favors active cooperation with the constructive forces within these associations, with the genuine champions of restructuring, while making a principled assessment of unhealthy tendencies.

We cannot fail to be concerned about the various kinds of flaws and excesses in the debate which is under way, including in the press and on radio and television. This was mentioned in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches at the meeting with representatives of science and culture in January and also at the Moscow City party conference. The party favors the consolidation of all sound and creative forces on a principled basis in the interests of restructuring.

Here our press, which has done so much for restructuring, so much to rid people's minds of the stereotypes and dogmas of the period of stagnation, has a particularly crucial role to play. However, not everything in the work of the mass information and propaganda media is to people's satisfaction, and some things, let us be frank, are causing them concern: the stridency, the sensationalism, and, I would say, the destructive thrust of certain articles, the taking of liberties with the facts, the lack of analysis. It is these that—as readers note in their letters—give rise to confusion in people's minds, as a result of which appeals are addressed to editorial offices and

the Central Committee to call people "to order," "to put them in their place." Naturally, these are means from the old arsenal and there is no returning to them. We must always remember that glasnost is not just a mirror of restructuring but also its effective, creative instrument.

The role of oral propaganda and agitation, of direct, live communication between leaders and ideological activists and the masses is also growing. It is important to ensure that the people who enjoy the greatest prestige and are trained for this—Central Committee members, people's deputies, major figures from the sphere of science and culture—take an active part in this. After all, Lenin's precept about individual influence in politics remains supremely topical.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize: We are aware of the complexity of the tasks facing ideological workers and of their responsibility for the fate of restructuring. We will conduct a creative quest in order to ensure the practical implementation of the fundamental directives of the 19th party conference and the strengthening of the link between ideology and life. And that means effectively promoting the molding of a creative individual, instilling a scientific world outlook in Soviet people, and enriching their spiritual world.

More on Election Campaigns for People's Deputies

Yeltsin Fails To Win Kolumna Vote

PM1702180989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Yu. Kazmin report under the rubric "Preparing for Elections" and the general headline: "Leadership Contest"]

[Text] Kolomna, Moscow Oblast—An okrug election campaign meeting of representatives of working people from four Moscow region rayons and the city of Kolomna, which comprise No 33 Kolomenskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, has been held here. Those assembled were due to discuss the nine contenders nominated in the okrug—V. Beloushchenko, physician at the Ozery hospital; V. Garin, director of the "Krasnyy Kolos" Sovkhoz; B. Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy; V. Korotich, chief editor of the journal OGO-NEK; V. Mesyats, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom; Ye. Polyakov, director of Kolomna's No 4 Secondary School; A. Rubinov, editor of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Social and Consumer Service Problems Department; I. Sviridov, director of the "Krasnaya Poyma" Experimental Farm; V. Stadnik, shop chief at the local machine building plant; and N. Cheremushkin, director of Lukhovitskiy Rayon's Vysokanskaya Secondary School.

Three of them—Comrades Garin, Korotich, and Cheremushkin—withdrew their candidacies.

The candidates who addressed the meeting spoke of their desire to improve Soviet people's lives, indicated ways to boost our economy's efficiency and to solve accumulated

social problems as swiftly as possible, and pointed out how, in their opinion, democracy should be developed and the Soviets' role enhanced so as to strengthen our socialist state on this basis.

Out of the 537 participants in the okrug meeting with power to vote, 434 gave preference to the political platform outlined by V. Mesytas, 317 votes were cast for I. Sviridov, and 277 for V. Stadnik.

The remaining candidates failed to win the requisite number of votes.

Those who spoke in the debate noted that, with the conditions in which the country is living being so complex, it is very important to vote for the CPSU's political line and its platform as outlined in the CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Party and the Soviet People. Through the persons they have chosen, those present at the meeting expressed support for the policy of restructuring and the CPSU's course of improving the life of workers and peasants, the labor intelligentsia, and all Soviet people.

Yeltsin Demands Free Elections

AU2002224489 Vienna Television Service in German
2100 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, former CPSU Politburo member, by ORF correspondent Raimund Loew in Moscow; date not given; Yeltsin answers in Russian with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Loew] What is the situation of perestroika today, is it in a crisis?

[Yeltsin] I think that perestroika is being inhibited in a threatening way, particularly in the areas of political reform, the economy, and state finances.

[Loew] Does that mean that a change in the party leadership would be necessary?

[Yeltsin] I do not think that there is any reason to replace Comrade Gorbachev, if that is what you mean. That is not necessary. However, perhaps the renewal of the other Politburo members has not yet been fully carried out. Indeed, we have realized lately that things surrounding glasnost have become more grey, and newspapers have become somewhat drab again.

[Loew] Do you believe that the current elections are democratic?

[Yeltsin] No, I would not say that they are absolutely democratic. It will probably be necessary in the future to create a better election system.

[Loew] What type of election system would you suggest?

[Yeltsin] I would suggest the introduction of direct, equal, and secret elections—not in one step, but possibly in two or three steps—from the lowest to the highest

levels, with alternative candidates, including those for the position of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the USSR state president.

[Loew] What will these elections bring us under the present conditions?

[Yeltsin] The composition of the People's Congress and of the Supreme Soviet will be entirely different from what it was in the past. There will no longer be simply background figures. The Supreme Soviet, which will be constantly meeting, will prepare laws and work out draft laws. It will study and examine the proposals submitted by the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee, and do many other things. Do you understand what that means? The Supreme Soviet deputies coming from the people, elected by the people, and held responsible by the people. It is not the apparatus that will decide, that drafted all the laws in the past; hundreds of laws were created in this way, laws nobody has observed and nobody has noticed. I tell you one thing: These elections will advance perestroika.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Budapest TV

LD2102002189 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 2030 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, "one of the most interesting characters of Soviet public life," by Ferenc Szaniszló; date and place not given; from the "Panorama" program—Yeltsin recorded in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Szaniszló] [passage omitted on Yeltsin biography] What is happening to perestroika, the reforms? People are complaining that the stores are empty.

[Yeltsin] Well, yes. First of all, I would say that they have made tactical mistakes. I drew attention to this already at the 19th party conference. Second, the reform does not extend to everything. Third, the central apparatus by no means wants to let power pass to the local organs. It keeps the reins very tightly in hand. Fourth, everyone expected that the reform would somehow at a stroke increase productivity, the effectiveness of the people's economy, that it would invigorate economic life and so forth. In truth, all that has happened is that as a result of the reform wages have risen—but this has not created more goods. The purchasing power of the ruble has perceptibly decreased even compared with that earlier.

[Szaniszló] Don't you think that people are idealizing the past and are going to extremes? They are holding perestroika responsible for everything.

[Yeltsin] Yes, this danger exists too. Nor must it be forgotten that the forces opposing perestroika, which are now beginning to recover after the initial fright, are increasingly systematically, impeding the realization of the reforms. In an artful way they are trying to work out how to put a brake on perestroika.

[Szaniszlo] You have personal experience of this, for as first secretary of the Moscow party committee you accumulated troubles rather quickly with the apparatus.

[Yeltsin] Well, yes.

[Szaniszlo] Why?

[Yeltsin] I would not say that the whole apparatus turned against me. But all the same, we are talking about a bureaucratized party apparatus, a bureaucratic one. They planned the whole of perestroyka, so that through its realization power would be decentralized, and the local collectives, the rayons, cities, and oblasts would get greater independence, more rights. But this apparatus by no means wants to let power out of its hands. It wants to hold sway over everything from beginning to end, and of course it opposes the democratization of public life and society. [passage omitted]

[Szaniszlo] They say that during your time in office you changed too many leaders.

[Yeltsin] Yes, such accusations were leveled against me, for example even by Comrade Gorbachev. However, I would take issue with him, too, for a greater percentage of oblast first secretaries and republic first secretaries were changed than were Moscow district party leaders in my time.

[Szaniszlo] You mentioned Gorbachev. What are relations like between the two of you? It is my impression that he was almost the only speaker who defended you in the session at which you were dismissed.

[Yeltsin] I would not say that Gorbachev defended me. True, at least he spoke in quite a restrained way. At the start a very good relationship developed between the two of us. Afterward, however—in my opinion Ligachev had a hand in this too—this relationship soured.

[Szaniszlo] Why? For I believe you came to Moscow at Gorbachev's request.

[Yeltsin] Yes. It is hard to say why.

[Szaniszlo] On what do you and Ligachev not agree?

[Yeltsin] With Ligachev, our opinions differ on several questions. First, as regards the tactics of perestroyka. I spoke about this at the beginning. Second, here is the regulation concerning drink, the curb on alcohol consumption which gave rise to obvious antipathy in public opinion, for it acted in a forced, voluntarist, prohibitive way. I categorically opposed it. One cannot fight against alcoholism in this way. We should study international experiences, not just ban once and for all the sale of spirits and champagne, destroy the vines improved over centuries, annihilate the most valuable vintage wines, which are purchased in any country in the world. It was a grave exaggeration.

Or take, for example, the questions of social justice. My stance on this has not changed, despite the fact I was defeated four times last year. I still stick to my principles. We must ensure that everyone has the same chance to purchase merchandise. I am speaking about possibilities. It is a different question that people participate in social production in different (?ways), and they must get wages corresponding to this. However, everyone must be ensured equal opportunity for what he can buy with the ruble in his pocket, be he a worker, general secretary, minister, anyone.

[Szaniszlo] This is not so at present. You are thinking of the special closed areas in stores.

[Yeltsin] Of course. True, as regards special foodstuff allocations, these have partly ceased. We have already taken a very small step forward. However, we are still at the very beginning.

Ligachev, however, had a different opinion. His opinion was that we leaders work most, and therefore no kind of restriction could apply to us. Why?

[Szaniszlo] Do you believe Ligachev has won in this duel?

[Yeltsin] No, no, the battle continues.

[Szaniszlo] [word indistinct] Gorbachev?

[Yeltsin] As I said, as regards foodstuff allocations, Ligachev has already lost, as he has in the matter of the regulation curbing alcohol consumption. Another regulation amendment had to be accepted which, although it does not cancel the old one, at least words the stance to the effect that the problem has to be solved gradually. Alcohol has to be combatted, of course, but not with such barbaric methods, not with the policy of prohibition.

[Szaniszlo] On whose side is Gorbachev in this argument?

[Yeltsin] I would say he is somewhere in the middle.

[Szaniszlo] Gorbachev probably would not like it if you [plural] constantly quarrelled, if perestroyka were to fall victim to the conflicts between leaders.

[Yeltsin] Of course, and there was no need for argument either. Ligachev should have been ousted from the Politburo, and that's that.

[Szaniszlo] Instead, however, you were ousted from the Politburo.

[Yeltsin] Yes, well, yes. At the October 1987 session of the Central Committee I spoke rather sharply.

[Szaniszlo] And that influenced the later decision of the Moscow party committee?

[Yeltsin] Of course. The whole Politburo was present at the party committee session.

[Szaniszlo] Did you not have friends and colleagues in the Politburo who would have supported you?

[Yeltsin] There are such people now, too. However, they are afraid to express their opinions openly.

[Szaniszlo] All the same, I believe you had defenders. You are most likely the first Soviet politician who, departing from the Politburo, was still given a ministerial rank, and became a member of the Soviet Government instead of being deprived of the right to politicize and of being sent, say, into retirement. Does this not indicate that they recognize your popularity?

[Yeltsin] It probably does. Second, in my opinion Mikhail Sergeyevich, deep down, probably feels that I was treated not too fairly.

[Szaniszlo] Do you and Gorbachev still keep in contact?

[Yeltsin] We met at the Central Committee session, but we do not keep in contact over the telephone. [passage omitted]

[Szaniszlo] Do you believe we can talk about a Yeltsin affair today in the Soviet Union?

[Yeltsin] If I were criticized less, or if at least the mass media did not consider me taboo and if the people at least knew what I said at the October 1987 Central Committee session, there would not be such a great fuss surrounding the name of Yeltsin. [passage omitted]

[Szaniszlo] I believe a mandate as deputy and a ministerial rank are incompatible.

[Yeltsin] Yes, according to our laws, if I am elected as deputy I will have to resign as minister. I myself have already made a decision on this matter. Nevertheless I am running in the election. [passage omitted]

If I get in, which is not too likely, then maybe I will become a professional politician. [passage omitted]

Moscow Election Meeting Reported

LD1702195289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Andrey Ptashnikov report]

[Excerpt] [Ptashnikov] I will begin this part of the bulletin with an account of the preelection campaign which is continuing in our country. A constituency preelection meeting is going on at this minute in Okt'yabrskiy territorial constituency number 17 in Moscow. Eleven applicants for people's deputy are waging a struggle for mandates as deputy. Vladimir Koroblev, our special correspondent, who is now in touch with our studio, is present at this meeting. Vladimir Vladimirovich, for how many hours has the meeting been going on already?

[Koroblev] Andrey [name indistinct], you know, the meeting has not yet begun in practice, although 3 hours have already passed since its official start.

[Ptashnikov] That is to say, as far as I know, it was meant to start at 1600. [1300 GMT]

[Koroblev] Yes, it did start at 1600 precisely, but a rather heated argument has been going on for all these 3 hours among the participants in the meeting, the electors, on the question of what to begin with, whether first to offer the floor to the candidates and discuss their programs and then adopt a decision on their registration. But there has been a second proposal.

[Ptashnikov] Pardon me, I want to interrupt you. What decision has been made? Or hasn't there been one yet?

[Koroblev] No, a decision has already been made, but I want to tell you about the second proposal. The second proposal was to register all 11 candidates and then to listen to their programs. Literally just a few minutes ago—I have left the hall—the first proposal was adopted by a majority of votes.

[Ptashnikov] Repeat it again for our listeners.

[Koroblev] First, the candidates will deliver their programs, then the participants in the meeting will discuss them, and after that a decision on the registration of the 11 candidates will be adopted.

[Ptashnikov] Now, please, a few words about each one of the candidates. Who are they?

[Koroblev] Well, I will start with Mikhail Georgiyevich Astafyev, a scientific employee of the Institute of Physical Chemistry of the Academy of Sciences; Yuriy Nikolayevich Afanasyev, rector of the Historical Archive Institute; Ilgiz Kazimovich Galimov, head of production department 145 of the Mossantekhstroy No 4 trust; Georgiy Mikhaylovich Grechko, a pilot cosmonaut, head of the laboratory at the Atmospheric Physics Institute of the Academy of Sciences; Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Construction Committee; Ilya Iosifovich Zaslavskiy, scientific employee at the Moscow Textiles Institute; Yuriy Ivanovich Kirillov, general director of the Krasnyy Proletariy production association; our colleague Aleksandr Nikolayevich Krutov, a commentator with central television's main editorial office for information...

[Ptashnikov, interrupting] Pardon me for interrupting you; he was also once our colleague in this editorial office.

[Koroblev] Yes. Among the candidates is Academician Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov...

[Ptashnikov, interrupting] Forgive me, but as far as I know, Academician Sakharov has officially withdrawn his candidacy.

[Koroblev] Yes, his statement was published in MOS-KOVSKIYE NOVOSTI recently, but the commission decided to examine the question of Academician Sakharov's registration alongside the other candidates, since they have his statement agreeing to this. But I did not finish telling you about the candidates.

[Ptashnikov] Yes, go on.

[Koroblev] There is Tamara Sergeyevna Tambayeva, chief physician from polyclinic number 51, and also Nikolay Panteleyevich Umalchik, general director of the dairy production association at the Neftemash Scientific Research Institute. These, overall, are the people who will be fighting for a deputy's mandate in literally a few minutes' time.

[Ptashnikov] Vladimir Vladimirovich, how many mandates are there altogether, or is there just one?

[Koroblev] No, you know, there are no limitations here. In other words, if the meeting adopts a decision to register all 11 candidates, they will be registered. All that will become clear during the meeting, after the candidates have presented their programs; then the delegates will discuss them, and the meeting will adopt a decision on how many people, what number of candidates, to present for registration. [passage omitted]

Lizichev Outlines Election Program

OW1902144989 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2230 GMT 18 Feb 89

[From the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program; address by Army General Aleksey Dmitriyevich Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy and a people's deputy candidate, at a meeting of the Taman Division; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] A meeting of voters with a people's deputy candidate, Army General Aleksey Dmitriyevich Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, took place at the Lenin Order Taman Division, Moscow Military District. After listening to the wishes of the voters, Aleksey Dmitriyevich made a speech outlining the election program he will implement in his capacity as a people's deputy. Aleksey Dmitriyevich said:

[Begin Lizichev recording] Briefly, my preelection program stems completely from the party platform outlined in the appeal made to the party and the Soviet people by the party Central Committee. I voted for that document in the Central Committee and am prepared to initial its every line, its every work.

As a military man, as a leader of the Main Political Directorate, I intend to continue, based on this party platform, resolutely and without hesitation to implement restructuring within the Army and Navy and in its political work.

Restructuring of the Army and Navy is presently acquiring new directions. It is taking place within the same time frame as that of our society, within the framework of the overall party demands and directives, under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of our party and its Politburo and the country's Defense Council.

The reconstruction concept was clearly and succinctly expressed at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. It states that the effectiveness of Soviet construction should be primarily determined by qualitative parameters both in regard to equipment, military science, and defense personnel.

Military construction [stroitelstvo] must guarantee high reliability of defense for the Soviet Union and its allies. But it must be realized economically, with possible cuts in expenditure, and in strict accordance with the defense direction of our military doctrine.

With this in mind, the concept of developing various defense force forms and military units has begun. Whereas in 1987 and 1988 our main task was to give meaning to the fundamental position of the new Soviet doctrine, and somehow to translate this into practice, this year, comrades, and in the years to come, we must work out the mechanisms for realizing all aspects of restructuring of the Soviet forces. In all branches of the defense force, operational combat political training is being actively, and more intensely, conducted.

Admittedly, we have fewer units, regiments, and ships that excel, but on the other hand, the number of regiments and ships which were previously appraised as unsatisfactory have decreased. Combat readiness of the Army and Navy forces has increased. Much has been done to activate our military science, develop a supply management system, as well as personnel organization.

I wish to inform you that all our military units will be withdrawn from Afghanistan on 15 February.

However, regrettably, comrades, restructuring in the Army is not proceeding—as indeed in our society in general—without difficulties. Omissions, shortcomings, and—candidly speaking—striking examples of contrast have been observed. Why? Probably because new political thinking demands new approaches in solving military tasks. Unfortunately, there are those who, until now, have not fully understood this.

Second, as was noted in the Central Committee resolution of 27 October last year, restructuring has as yet to touch on all the echelons of the army and navy, and particularly the middle and lower echelons. Some comrades often fail to see their place in restructuring, how it should be carried out on the divisional and regimental, or ship levels. This leads to muddled debates, unsubstantiated statements that restructuring is supposedly to the detriment of the armed forces, and so on.

Third, unobjective appraisal of the state of affairs, low expectations, bureaucratic methods of work, vulgarization, indulgence, a difference between what is preached and what is done, substitution of specific organizational work with assurances, conferences, and inefficient inspections continue here and there, acting as serious hindrances to restructuring.

Fourth, comrades, the process of democratization is proceeding slowly. The party tells us that presently we all are students of the institute of democratization. We all are studying democracy.

But these studies are not without pain. There are distortions and exaggerations; there are those of little faith who openly say that democratization of the military could only lead to unforeseen consequences. There are those who have not acquired listening skills; there are those who are prone to dismiss people, or who do not know how to debate. There was the case of a person who wanted to speak out at a regimental party meeting, but the presidium haughtily dismissed him.

Quite often at our military councils the debate is entirely one-sided, or is reduced to yet another tongue-lashing session. These occurrences are not all that frequent, but they do exist and they have to be considered and resolutely corrected.

Presently, the key work principles must be based on democratism, on trust in people, tolerance for the unusual, on competence, good will, encouragement of initiatives, and new experiences. Moreover, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has said, on unprecedented responsibility.

Comrades, the world is not peaceful as yet. The tendency toward disarmament, even though it has recently received a huge boost, has not as yet become irrevocable. The movement toward a nuclear-free world also encounters opposition. The inheritance and the inertia of the past continue to have an effect.

Comrades, the deep contradictions at the root of many conflicts have not yet disappeared. That is why Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, speaking at a scheduled UN assembly session on 7 December last year, said: We will maintain the defense capabilities of the country at a reasonable and reliably sufficient level so that no one should be tempted to encroach on USSR security and its allies.

Comrades, I wish to speak about one more thing. Presently, the press, radio, and television talk a great deal about our military construction, and the Army in general. It could be said that social awareness has developed two different approaches toward changes in the defense forces.

The first presupposes perfecting the existing system. The second takes the approach of changing the basic principles of structure and formation of our army. In particular, it is maintained that, supposedly, there is a pressing need to change the Army into a territorial militia. Others propose to have a mercenary army.

Comrades, let us take a look at this. What is the mobilization principle? It is training outside barracks. Study during days, military training in the evenings [uchis vecherom zanimaysya]. Think for yourselves: There would be no barracks, there would be nothing. It means that every street would have to be equipped with an armored personnel carrier, tank, command vehicle, machine guns, [word indistinct], mortars, and so on.

Does it mean that each region should have its own nuclear-powered submarine, missile launch site, and so forth? What economy could afford this, how many people would this require? Moreover, would we succeed in training people under such conditions and what would productivity in our factories and plants be under such conditions? Finally, would the soldier, sailor, and officer be appropriately trained under such a system? Obviously not.

The second question, that of having a mercenary army: I will not touch on the question of mobilization readiness of the people and other questions connected with having a standing mercenary army. Let me only cite the economic, financial factor. Presently, the United States has an armed force numbering some 2.1 million men. The cost of maintenance alone is \$78 billion. I think that it is clear to you what would happen if we too should change to having a mercenary army.

Proposals have also been made that each union republic should be free to have its own army, its own national formation, serving only in its own republic. At this stage I would like to cite a number of positions which provide the rationale why we must not change to such a system.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin, taking in consideration the objective conditions of creating a new socialist army in a multinational country, as far back as in the spring of 1918, stressed that we must have only an international army and that it should be trained in the spirit of brotherhood of all the working people.

Our Army, in the 70 years of its existence, has gone through a territorial militia system, an extraterritorial and internationally mixed composition of personnel, and national unit formations within the framework of a single army. Having experienced all this, often through trial and error, the Army was then built on the existing cadre system of military organization worked out by the party. This system has been tested by time both under conditions of the Civil War and World War II.

Second, our Army is international in its origin and its social and political status. The Army was formed to defend the gains of October, which embodied the interests of all nationalities, all the people of our country. It was created by the working class and the party, which is international in its essence, as is the working class. [end recording]

24 Feb Proclaimed Estonian Independence Day
*LD1702235889 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT
17 Feb 89*

[Text] Tallinn, February 17 TASS—The presidium of the supreme soviet of Estonia, a Soviet Baltic republic, on Friday passed a decision to consider February 24 the republic's independence day and to raise the national flag of Estonia on the Toompea Tower, the highest in Tallinn, on this day.

"The first independent Estonian state was proclaimed on February 24, 1918 in keeping with the Lenin principle of the right of nations to self-determination", Arnold Ruejtel, president of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, told journalists. "In observing independence day, we do not cancel the celebration of the anniversary of the Estland workers' commune or the Estonian SSR".

Independence Party Criticized
*PM1702103989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 5 Feb 89 p 3*

[Article by S. Pashayev: "What the Champions of 'National Interests' Are Concerned About"]

[Text] Moscow—It is no secret that the process of democratization is under way in a complex manner in Estonia, not without attempts by some forces to lay claim to the role of unique legislators of political fashion and to use the situation for their own far from noble purposes.

Of course, it is not these extremes that reflect the position of the Estonian working people, who in their majority are sincerely anxious for the success of restructuring, for democratic changes, for socialism's purging of the scale of Stalinism and the slime of stagnation. But some problems that have appeared here recently are by no means of a particular or regional nature.

In this sense, so far fewer large-scale social formations of which, it must be said, there are many here, have remained outside our field of vision. They include the Society for the Conservation of Ancient Monument, the Estonian Christian Union, the Tallinn Independent Detachment, the Forum of Independent Youth.... Need I say that without taking into account the ideas that the members of these and similar groups preach, the picture of the republic's sociopolitical life looks incomplete.

Indeed, is there not something uniquely eloquent about the demands of the so-called Vyr "No. 1 free independent youth convoy" to perpetuate the memory of the "freedom fighters"—White Estonians who drowned the

Estonian Labor Commune in blood? Or about the slogans with which they picketed the Vyruskiy Rayon people's court and prosecutor's office building: "Down with the Soviets," "Deprive the Communists of power"?

Or take the Estonian National Independence Party. I have talked with the leader of its Tallinn section, Arvo Pesti, member of the Estonian National Independence Party Council, and familiarized myself with a whole series of documents that those who think like him have distributed widely at meetings and hung up on improvised stands.

What is being sought by these people who inaugurated their "party" last August? A paragraph of the first charter of the Estonian National Independence Party formulates unambiguously and unequivocally the main aim which this "political association of individuals" sets itself—"the restoration of the independence of the democratic Estonian state." How? Arvo Pesti does not conceal the fact that it would be in the form of Estonia's secession from the USSR and its restoration within its 1940 borders.

"Sooner or later, whether Moscow likes it or not, this must happen," he states. And he adds: "For our party we will do everything for this to be carried out as soon as possible."

In order to somehow justify the necessity for and legality of their overtly separatist blustering, the Estonian National Independence Party organizers do not stand on ceremony very much now. In their "Political Declaration of the Constituent Congress" they shamelessly distort the nature of relations among the USSR people and interpret history as they see fit.

Their three-page "declaration" literally bristles with avowals like the following: "The 48 years of alien and hostile rule have pushed the country and people to the brink of catastrophe.... For every thinking Estonian capable of a sense of responsibility, the hour of supreme peril has sounded.... Social order of the Soviet type has proved to be an impasse for human development.... Our hands are tied not only by the power of the Communist Party but also by a paralyzing sense of uncertainty and futility.... Estonian! Do not be ashamed to be a nationalist...."

Were it not for two important factors it would perhaps not be worth taking seriously the nationalist aspirations of a small group of people (right now there are only about 200 people in the Estonian National Independence Party) who send out countless appeals and memorandums to international organizations and the heads of Western governments asking for aid and support. People like my interlocutor, like Mati Kiyrend, Lagle Parek, Eve Pyarnaste, Vello Salum, Erik Udam, Sander Siss, and other supporters of theirs are very eager to don the garb of expressers of national interests. They are not alone in this desire now. In addition they have, as they say, reason to cross swords—many members of the Estonian National Independence Party have long had "ideological differences" with the Soviet laws. For instance, before

becoming a member of the Estonian National Independence Party and joining its council, Sander Siss—also known as the half-trained artist Aleksandr Kokin—had twice had dealings with the law. The first time was in 1966 for petty embezzlement, theft, and the illegal possession of firearms, the second was in 1976 after an attempt to cross the state border illegally.

Here is what particularly puts us on our guard in this connection. On familiarizing yourself with the Estonian press you cannot help noticing that some public movements seemingly formed in support of restructuring for some reason do not always find it necessary to indicate their principled stance with regard to the Estonian National Independence Party's plans. Why? Do they not take it into account, do they not see in it a real political force? But does this silence not give rise to a certain ambiguity which plays into the hands only of the Estonian National Independence Party functionaries? Especially when on some fundamental issues their platforms, even if purely superficially, do have something in common. After all in the main this very much suits the leaders of extreme movements. Initially small associations need allies or at least the potential for future alliances. But do progressive public associations need this "proximity?"

The question is not that simple if you consider that some leaders of the People's Front (the artist Kheynts Valk, for instance) not only do not denounce their intentions but on the contrary urge them to respect modern separatists "for their boldness." "It requires courage to continue this path knowing that the same thing may happen as happened to the 'Karabakh' committee. Restructuring is all very well but power is in the hands of the bureaucracy," he told a SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA correspondent. "Appeals against the state system—are they not anticonstitutional propaganda?" the journalist asked specifically. "No, it is not anticonstitutional," Valk replied.

Need we be surprised that today the Estonian National Independence Party supporters are not simply declaring their aspirations. In the above-mentioned "declaration" an attempt can be seen to transform their arrogant political dreams into an open appeal to action. How else can we interpret the following passage, for instance: "In practice we will have to win political, economic, and cultural sovereignty. Not a single foreigner will bring us anything. The Communist Party will surrender nothing voluntarily..."

History has convinced us on many occasions that any attempt to turn public forces from the path of socialism and to change the people's historic choice begins in accordance with a traditional scheme. With the revision of abiding values, with the idealization of an alternative social and economic system, with shameless playing on people's national feelings, with persistent ruses designed to somehow or other try to compromise and discredit the role of the party.

Today those people who have arbitrarily declared themselves to be the sole champions of the Estonian people's interests have tried to bring all these mechanisms into play to some extent.

"For 50 years the Communist Party of Estonia has been unable to stand up for the interests of the Estonian people," the "Proposal to create the Estonian National Independence Party," which essentially presents the party's political program, states, for instance. "Until independence for the independent Estonian national state is achieved again, the Estonian National Independence Party would come to the defense of the Estonian people's interests and would be a national opposition grouping for the Communist Party of Estonia."

You cannot put it more clearly. The priority tasks which in certain circumstances the homegrown politicians would like to implement in the economic field are formulated with the same frankness. They include in particular "the creation of free opportunities for private enterprise...and its expansion."

A number of documents stipulate exhaustively the conditions that would make it possible to accomplish the desired "transformations" in the republic. In particular for this it is necessary to achieve the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Estonian SSR and the introduction in their place of UN troops "to avoid violence and repression by the Soviet occupying authorities inspired by Moscow and the fifth column...."

When you read and hear all these statements formulated in complete seriousness and when you try to analyze the absurd plans to eliminate the modern industrial base in the republic and to suspend the development of natural resources while at the same time swearing immediately to raise the people's living standard, to increase pensions and wages, and flood the market with goods in short supply, you cannot help being amazed at the "naivety" of their authors. No, not in connection with their economic projects. Here, it must be believed, they nurture no illusions themselves. You are struck by the naivety of calculations aimed at seeking out today simpletons ready to seriously believe that the manna of heaven will descend to the Estonian land and that only one thing is preventing it from doing so—the "diktat of foreigners" and the Estonian SSR's membership in the united union of republics.

I have often talked about this with those who live and work in Tallinn and serve in the Baltic republics.

"These appeals are sheer adventurism, an attempt to stupefy people," V. Liyv, leader of a team of turners at the Tallinn excavator plant, is convinced. V. Liyv is a hero of socialist labor, member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

He is not alone in this assessment of the Estonian National Independence Party's activity.

"This is a manifestation of the extremes that have unfortunately appeared on the wave of the major changes in our society's life," is the belief of Major General V. Vare (retired), candidate USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans. "The political orientation and goals of the Estonian National Independence Party members are obvious."

After my trip to Estonia I must admit it is hard for me not to share this concern. We must talk and write about extremism, about lack of political culture and honesty so that no one should form the opinion that the path of restructuring which is asserting itself is direct and easy and that its opponents are mythical shadows the struggle against which requires neither attention nor effort. Socialist democracy, it should be clear to everyone, is not anarchy, not omnipotence, not all-permissiveness. It cannot and will not serve the adventurist aspirations of those who, under cover of pluralism, are ignoring the law that protects the supreme interests of the people and the state.

People's Front Issues Declaration

LD1602200989 Tallinn MAALHET in Estonian
9 Feb 89 p 2

["Declaration of the Estonian People's Front on the 71st Anniversary of the Independent State of Estonia"—MAALHET headline]

[Text] The declaration of the independent Estonian Republic on 24 February 1918 is an event in Estonian history whose importance will not diminish with age. In establishing the Estonian Republic the will of the majority of the people was expressed. At the Constituent Assembly elections people voted for those parties whose aim was to achieve unattached state independence. A great contribution toward this was made by Juri Vilms, Konstantin Pats, Jaan Poska, Johan Laidoner, and many other national idealistic men who in a complex political situation achieved international recognition of Estonian statedom and organized the heroic defense of the young republic.

The Estonian Republic has until now remained to be the highest form of the Estonian people's self-determination, within which statedom provided firm guarantees for peaceful and humane life and cultural development of both the Estonian people as well as of the other nationality groups living in Estonia, and it created preconditions for the development of a European society founded upon democracy. Statedom also enabled the postponement by nearly 2 decades of the beginning of such tragic events in Estonia that in the Soviet Union simultaneously led up to the path of destruction and assimilation of the ethnic Estonian group there, together with numerous other minority nationalities.

Stalinism's brutal interruption of Estonian independence, established 7 decades ago, and the non-recognition until now of the endeavors of the Estonian people

for becoming independent are a continuous source of political tension. This tension is also encouraged by the contradiction between the present legal state of the Estonian people and what was allowed by independent Estonia. Removal of that tension may take place only through the restoral of Estonian sovereignty in such a way that would enable international recognition of the statedom, would create preconditions for the survival of the Estonian people and for the free development of all the local ethnic groups, and for genuinely trustful and mutually useful relations with our neighboring peoples.

In connection with the 71st anniversary of the Estonian Republic, the Estonian People's Front appeals to all Estonians and friends of Estonia:

- 1) to celebrate this important date in Estonian towns, settlements, and villages with public ceremonies, concerts, and other appropriate festive undertakings;
- 2) for proprietors of state and public buildings and private houses to hoist Estonian national flags on the buildings;
- 3) to organize in all churches of Estonia independence day religious services and to ring the bells of all churches at midday on 24 February;
- 4) to support the proposal of the Estonian People's Front to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to reinstate the blue, black, and white flag as the Estonian state flag.

The Estonian People's Front holds the view that although the independent Estonian state has ceased to exist, as a state temporarily annexed by stalinism, it has the right to use its former state symbols.

May 24 February 1989 turns out to be the beginning of a new increase in the strength of our hopes.

Long live the sovereign democratic Estonian Republic!
Long live the peace of the peoples!
[signed] Estonian People's Front

Party Paper on 'Occupation'

LD1802003989 Tallinn HOMELAND in English
8 Feb 89 p 1

[Excerpts] In an unprecedented move the Estonian party daily RAHVA HAAL published on February 2 an article which recognized the occupation of Estonia and its incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1940.

The story also reads that although universally known, "official Moscow still keeps silent" about the 1939 deal between Hitler and Stalin which assigned Estonia to the Soviet Union's "sphere of influence".

Estonia's occupation by the Soviet Union has been the most carefully protected taboo in this country since 1940. [passage omitted]

The article, written by Estonian historian Edgar Mattisen and signed by ETA, the official news agency of Estonia, is devoted to the 69th anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty.

The treaty, concluded between Estonia and Soviet Russia on February 2, 1920, ended the Estonian war of independence. [passage omitted]

The 69th anniversary of the treaty was celebrated in several towns of Estonia. The biggest demonstration was in Tartu where approximately 2,000 people gathered; under slogans and the national tricolors, at the building where the treaty was signed.

The meeting heard calls for the recognition of the Tartu Peace Treaty by the Soviet Union. The main demand was that the relations between the Soviet Union and Estonia must be based on the Tartu Peace Treaty which says that "Russia acknowledges the sovereignty and independence of Estonia".

Several slogans called for the withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces from Estonia.

Organized by the Estonian National Independence Party and the Estonian Heritage Society the rally took place with the permission of the authorities. The police helped control traffic in the streets filled with demonstrators.

This is in sharp conflict with a similar gathering on the same spot last year which was broken up by the police armed with rubber sticks and shields.

Speaking to Estonian Radio Leo Viard, leader of the Kanepi branch of the Heritage society, said: "We've got to be ready for a lucky chance, like the one we had in 1918." In 1918 the independent Estonian state was formed.

Voicing her concern for the outspoken orators at the meeting an elderly woman said to Estonian Radio: "If only they didn't do any harm to themselves with those speeches.... I'm afraid the time has not come as yet to tell the truth in full."

More on Lithuanian Independence Day Celebrations

'Alarming' Backdrop to Festivities

PM1702095789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 16 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Major Yu. Rubtsov report: "Holiday Amid Humdrum. Today Is a National Holiday in Lithuania. A Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree Proclaimed 16 February Lithuanian State Rebirth Day"]

[Text] Vilnius—This date was last officially celebrated 50 years ago. New dates and new holidays became customary with the victory of Soviet power. Attempts to somehow celebrate 16 February met with sharp retorts. Moreover, not only during the years of the personality cult and stagnation but even recently.

"Restructuring of public awareness and the need to illuminate our republic's past from positions of historical truth impelled the party to take a new look at the problem of Lithuanian statehood," that is the opinion of

A. Semashki, a senior worker in the republic's Communist Party Central Committee. "The republic's leadership graphically displayed its new political thinking here."

The formation of an independent Lithuania was the direct consequence of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" proclaimed by the Soviet Government and its acknowledgment of previously oppressed nations' right to self-determination. Under conditions of impending annexation by Germany, the "restoration of an independent state set up on democratic foundations" was proclaimed 16 February 1918 in Vilnius as a result of persistent actions on the part of the left wing of the Tariba (leading social organ).

Admittedly, at the time, the proclamation of a state was nominal since Lithuania was occupied by the German Army until July 1919. The Lithuanian revolutionary provisional government headed by V. Kapsukas set up at the end of 1918 proclaimed the Lithuanian Soviet Republic. However, the Kaunas-based bourgeois Lithuanian government, supported by German volunteers, did not allow revolutionary power to assert itself on Lithuanian territory.

Soviet Russia reacted attentively to the formation of the independent border state. Normal relations—for states with different social systems—were established between Lenin's government and Lithuania. The RSFSR was one of the first to recognize the latter's sovereignty 12 July 1920. Lithuania became a member of the League of Nations at the end of 1922.

"Historians don't idealize the prewar Lithuanian state," Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Eydintas, deputy director of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences History Institute, told us. "The position of the working people was difficult and the regime that was set up in 1926 as a result of a military coup d'etat very soon destroyed democratic liberties and brutally suppressed the revolutionary movement. But one should not fail to take into account the fact that the republic formed in 1918 provided the foundation on which the economic, cultural, and spiritual palace of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is built today."

The coming festivities have a vast agenda, which "Sajudis" has taken an active part in preparing along with party and soviet bodies. Popular outdoor events, performances by the best creative collectives, exhibitions, and church services have been planned. In Kaunas it is intended to unveil the Statue of Liberty that was pulled down at one time. A memorial plaque will be unveiled in the capital on the building where the Lithuanian state was proclaimed in far-off 1918.

However, an alarming note was also palpable amid the festive bustle. The preparations for 16 February took place amid difficult and hard concerns and problems. At a conference held at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee concern was voiced regarding the increasingly frequent irresponsible and sometimes even

extremist statements about the illusory prospects of leaving the USSR and provocative attacks from various groupings and their individual leaders on party and government members.

Other events are also disquieting. An increasing number of nonindigenous inhabitants are expressing acute dissatisfaction over the recently published decree on the use of the Lithuanian SSR state language. A mass rally in Vilnius that was called on the initiative of "Unity" reflected this dissatisfaction. ELTA has already reported that approximately 80,000 people gathered in the square by the Palace of Sport (a figure in excess of 100,000 was cited at the rally itself). They adopted a resolution demanding that the published decree be repealed and a new one drafted to reflect the "rights and interests of all the peoples and ethnic groups," attempts to kindle disagreements between the peoples be resolutely stopped, and all informal movements be geared to resolving economic and social problems.

Time will tell how the consolidation of social forces within the republic goes in the future and what impact it will have on the progress of restructuring. But today is only a boost for further everyday work.

Brazauskas at Independence Ceremony

LD1802113289 Vilnius in Lithuanian
to North America 0100 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Speech by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, at a Lithuanian Independence Day ceremony in Vilnius on 16 February to unveil a plaque marking the house in which independence was declared in 1919—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed residents of Vilnius, dear fellow-countrymen, and all the people of Lithuania! I send you my heartiest congratulations on the occasion of the holiday of 16 February, the day of restoration of Lithuania's state-system. It is a holiday for all of us.

We want to see our country flourishing, democratic, and sovereign. In striving to achieve this let us spare in neither our wisdom nor our hearts. Along this road we have already covered a considerable part of it, we have already overcome many obstacles. I would like to stress that the objective and just evaluation of events in our history of recent times cannot under any circumstance be overlooked and does not overlook the creative work devotedly carried out by more than one generation. On the road of restructuring we must not, under any circumstances, destroy what has been built and created; we must support ourselves on the basis of what we have today.

In our hearts we brought to this holiday the names of those who were the most vigorous initiators of the nation's awakening. They are Simonas Daukantas, Jonas Basanvicius, Vincas Kudirka, and Maironis. We bring the national song as the anthem and our tricolor as the state flag to the holiday. This was the will of the nation.

We are making our mother tongue the state language. Although this is proceeding with difficulties, we hope to be understood.

Lithuania is our common home. There is enough room for everybody, for Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Jews, Tartars, and Karaims. All those who had taken root here are determined to live here in peace and harmony. Let us respect one another, each other's languages, customs, and culture.

Lithuania without sovereignty is Lithuania with no future. This slogan unites us all. We stand for that this slogan becomes a reality. First of all, in the sphere of independence is the economy. Already next year we will begin to live in these conditions. The beginning of a journey is never easy. However, realist outlines of independence are on the horizon in political, in cultural, and in many other spheres of our restructured life. Here we are determined for resolute actions. Lithuania will become law-governed and independent in the federation of Soviet republics. Our main concern today is strengthening our statehood. It is very good that our rich history and its rich experience helps us in the solution of these complex issues.

We are deservedly proud of the fact that since the beginning of the 13th century when the Lithuanian state was founded, the Lithuanian state has traversed the glorious path. Our ancestors did much in defending from all types of aggressors the interests of Eastern Europe and the Baltic countries, as well as its own interests. This was a highly significant historical struggle.

Two decades of the existence of the Lithuanian Republic are also significant. At that time, Lithuania became the master of her own future on 16 February, 1918. This followed 120 years of the tsarist oppression.

There had been significant achievements and also hard times. Suffering and uncertainty accompanied the years 1939 and 1940, the war-time years, and the post-war years.

Let us extend our hands to one another and decide to more resolutely travel together this rocky path of restructuring. Let one word, which is most precious to us, shine on us always. That word is "Lithuania."

'Odious' Slogans at Vilnius Rally

PM2102112189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Yu. Rubtsov report: "Marginal Notes on the Festivities Program"]

[Text] On 16 February in Lithuania three colors—yellow, green, and red—were undoubtedly the most popular. Combined in the state flag, they determined the color scheme of the festival—the Day of the Rebirth of Independence.

From early morning the inhabitants of Vilnius, old and young alike, carrying large or small flags or national symbols pinned to their clothes, made their way to the favorite spot for popular events—the Cathedral Square. How free people have grown, rid of the official ceremonial ritual! Unfettered, free speeches about the lessons of the past, about the need to achieve the republic's sovereignty and economic independence, about ecology and national culture.... I came to hear them on Piles Street at the house where the 16 February act was proclaimed in 1918 and where a memorial plaque was unveiled now in the presence of a large crowd, and at the V.I. Lenin memorial where flowers were laid, and late at night in Cathedral Square at a rally attended by thousands of people interspersed with performances of the best folk ensembles.

However, as is the custom, a festive event is not just an opportunity to rejoice at what has been achieved but also an occasion to give some serious thought to the problems of the day. The words of Yustinas Martsinkyavichus, widely known outside the republic, came to mind: "Citizenship starts with the realization that one is part of one's people."

How could one disagree with Lithuania's people's poet! It is impossible not to endorse another of his ideas—that one man's freedom must not mean another man's bondage. However, precisely at this moment when one section of the republic's population is celebrating the achievement of Lithuanian statehood, describing the 16 February Act as a Declaration of Freedom, another, not insignificant section of the population is expressing concern that the proclaimed ideal—namely that one man's freedom must not be achieved at the expense of another—is still remote.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reported earlier on the 100,000-strong rally organized last Sunday by the "Yedinstvo" socialist movement for restructuring. The republic mass media presented it as a "rally on the language issue," as a protest against the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the utilization of the republic's state language. The rally organizers have resolutely protested against this interpretation of their aims.

"We are not opposed to the Decree on Language, we merely seek to defend the rights of people who do not have an adequate command of Lithuanian and want to develop their own language. We are not against the Lithuanian language, we are against possible discrimination against people on the basis of language," is how V. Ivanov, one of the leaders of the Vilnius council of "Yedinstvo" who, incidentally, has just been registered as a candidate for USSR people's deputy, explains the organization's position.

On 15 February an hour-long protest was held at a number of enterprises in industry, construction, and transport. It was accompanied by rallies, the adoption of

resolutions, and even production stoppages. According to "Yedinstvo" information, some 40,000 people, mainly workers, took part in the protest action.

Is it really, as some people are trying to claim, just unwillingness on the part of representatives of national minorities to adapt to sociocultural conditions prevailing in the republic which is prompting workers to take such extreme steps? It appears that there are more weighty reasons. They cannot fail to be alarmed by appeals from certain irresponsible elements that the republic should withdraw from the USSR, that it should betray the socialist choice. Perhaps it is not so much the appeals as the weakness and in a number of cases the lack of a proper rebuttal of these elements on the part of party and social organizations.

Incidentally, it has been officially admitted that, because of a number of imprecise formulations relating purely to the language problem, the population of the republic which speaks another language does have grounds for concern. For instance, the translation of the Decree into Russian is inaccurate—which has resulted in distortions in a number of places. This applies, for instance, to passages which deal with the language in which mass events are held, the procedure for handling official business, and some others.

The "Yedinstvo" rally last Sunday is still producing reverberations and reactions. So, for instance, members of the Lithuanian creative unions have assessed it as an effort to "defend the Stalinist policy of 'merging' nations and languages," which is an insult to Lithuanians and all peoples living in Lithuania. Their statement upholds the position of the government, which expressed in the Decree "the will of the entire Lithuanian people and the majority of its citizens." This is beyond question. However, how is equal attention to questions raised by any group of people, irrespective of their numerical strength, to be ensured? Obviously (and this was stated at the "roundtable" discussion on problems of interethnic relations held at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, even though it is true that it was a representative of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences who said it) such questions cannot be resolved by majority opinion. Another technique is needed—the democracy of consensus.

The celebrations of the Day of the Rebirth of the Lithuanian state also revealed that it is not just language problems which divide people into different camps and prevent a consolidation based on socialist principles. Alas, on this occasion too, opinions and slogans which are clearly incompatible with a socialist pluralism of opinions were in evidence on the streets during the festivities—slogans on the lines of "Occupants clear out of Lithuania!", "End socialism in Lithuania!" and so forth. Let us not exaggerate their appeal to the participants in the festivities. We did not notice any special attention being paid to the handful of young people standing around displaying the odious slogans.

Unfortunately, we did not notice either anyone trying to rebut them, or at least to engage them in polemics. People read the slogans, some even photographed them, and then they calmly went on their way. It seems that such slogans have, unfortunately, become something of an obligatory adjunct of rallies and demonstrations, something adding a bit of spice, as it were. Why is this? People here have quite legitimately rejected the drum-beating appeals and banners of the stagnation period. Yet are these slogans really so harmless that they do not merit any attention beyond common curiosity?...

I foresee the objections of certain readers from Lithuania, who will say: Is there nothing more to tell about the day when people for the first time in almost half a century were able to mark their national holiday not in secret, with an enthusiasm that came from the heart rather than being orchestrated by the authorities? Did the author not notice the genuine emotion with which people marked the return to them of an anniversary which they treasure?

I reply: I did notice. More than that, I even envied the Lithuanians a little for being able to demonstrate their love for the land of their forebears and their pain at its trials and tribulations in a restrained yet somehow special manner.

But here is another observation (I will be glad if I am mistaken). Among the celebrating crowd there were hardly any people who did not speak Lithuanian. Yet no one will dare to describe many of the Russians, Poles, Belorussians, and Jews as nonindigenous—their grandfathers and great grandfathers lie buried in this soil. Was this not their holiday too? Division along ethnic lines is unfortunately assuming visible outlines in the republic. The conviction that this is an abnormal situation which is damaging to the restructuring cause made me write these notes in the margin of the 16 February festivities program.

More Vilnius Protests Pledged Over Language Law
*AU1702170289 Paris AFP in English 1702 GMT
17 Feb 89*

[Text] Vilnius, Soviet Union, Feb 17 (AFP)—The leader of a movement which staged a strike in some factories of the Lithuanian capital this week Friday pledged further "protest actions" if Lithuanian deputies failed to introduce guarantees for non-Lithuanians into a proposed language law.

Supporters of the organisation Yedinstvo (unity) stopped work for one hour in more than sixty factories in the city and outlying areas on Wednesday to protest a January 26 decree making Lithuanian the Baltic State official language. The decree will effectively force all non-Lithuanians, numbering 700,000 out of the total 3.5 [figure not further specified] population, to learn the Lithuanian language.

Yedinstvo leader Valery Ivanov told AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE that the law violated the right of the Russians, Poles, Belorussians, and other nationalities concentrated in south eastern Lithuania.

In Vilnius itself, a city of half a million, 50 percent of the population is Lithuanian.

Mr. Ivanov said Yedinstvo, which on Sunday staged a protest here drawing 100,000 people, and submitted a four point proposal to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, or parliament, containing language guarantees for the non Lithuanians.

"If they don't accept these points we will take serious protest actions", he said.

Mr. Ivanov, a bearded 42-year-old ethnic Russian, born in the city of Kaunas, north-west of here, insisted that his movement was not "anti-Lithuanian". "We just want to stop discrimination", he said. His movement claims a total of 100,000 members.

Mr. Ivanov denied that Yedinstvo was set up to counter Sajudis, a radical reform movement, campaigning for greater autonomy for Lithuania, whose radical wing is seeking independence.

Yedinstvo was formed as a "grass roots movement for perestroika (restructuring)" in November, just two weeks after Sajudis was founded. Mr. Ivanov said that ethnic tensions have caused a "difficult situation" in the Baltic state, and charged the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee "has lost control".

He also criticised Lithuanian leader Algirdas Brazauskas, who has made significant concessions to the Lithuanians nationalists since taking office last October. "If Brazauskas' policy was right, Yedinstvo would not exist", Mr. Ivanov said. "If he moves any further away from the workers' positions he could not stay on as Party leader".

Further on 'Unity' Rally on Multilingualism
*LD1502121389 Vilnius in English to North America
2300 GMT 13 Feb 89*

[For a related report see the 15 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT p 55]

[Text] A mass rally of the Yedinstvo [Russian word meaning "Unity"] organization took place in Vilnius yesterday. The speakers threatened those living in Lithuania with strikes of warning. Yedinstvo was set up a few months ago in several places of Lithuania. The organization unites mostly Russians and claims to defend the interests of the working people and socialism.

Yesterday's meeting was held in front of the sports palace. It was organized by the Vilnius Council of Yedinstvo. Several thousand people from Vilnius and other Lithuanian towns and villages took part. The participants protested against the decree of the Supreme

Soviet of Lithuania on the Lithuanian language published quite recently. The decree proclaims the Lithuanian language to be the state language of Lithuania.

Thirty-three people spoke at the meeting; three of them spoke in the Lithuanian language. It was clear that not every participant has read the text of the decree, and many of them did not understand its meaning, or perhaps did not want to understand it. According to the participants, the Lithuanian Constitution should insure bilingualism, or even the three state languages, namely: Lithuanian, Russian, and Polish.

The participants shouted: Strike! Strike! Some even cried: Down with fascism! Accusations were heard against the Lithuanian Government and the leaders of the reform movement, Sajudis.

A resolution was adopted at the end of the meeting. One of the three governmental officials taking part in the rally was Vanda Klykuniene, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium, promised that the resolution would be received by the government after it had been written out and legally registered and consideration will be given to the demands which are grounded. [sentence as heard] [passage indistinct]

However, there are good news as well: The Executive Committee of the Vilnius City Council has decided to return the original name of 16 February to one of the streets in Vilnius.

A big article on the Lithuania's independence day was published in the last volume of the Lithuanian Soviet Encyclopedia. [passage indistinct]

Groups Criticize Rallies

LD1702133989 Vilnius in English to North America
2300 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Statements issued by Lithuania's procurator and the Lithuanian creative unions as well as the conference of Vilnius party and economy leaders are all directly connected with the provocative rallies staged by the non-Lithuanian Yedinstvo movement in Vilnius last Sunday.

True, Lithuania's Procurator Liudvikas Sabutis qualifies in his statement as outrageous, besides the Yedinstvo rally also the actions of the radical Lithuanian Liberty League at its rally in Vilnius on 10th January and the pickets staged by the league at the beginning of last week when visiting Vilnius were members of the European Parliament Baltic Group.

The statement sums up the action as containing every possible outrage: blackmail, deceit, and agitation to violate the Constitution and operating laws. At crucial moments in life provocationists, overemotional people are trying to force their will upon others urging to breach labor discipline and the law.

Lithuania's procurator declared that a working group of the law ensuring bodies had been set up to investigate the above cases.

A joint statement issued by all the creative unions of Lithuania concerns only the actions of the Yedinstvo movement.

The statement points out that the demand even voiced at the rally to cancel the decree of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet Presidium on the use of Lithuanian as state language. This was obviously the chief goal pursued by the Yedinstvo which had been protesting against the official status of Lithuanian ever since it sprang up several months ago, the statement says.

Amazing indeed are the efforts of those people to find in the decrees things that are absolutely nonexistent there and overlook those which are stated clearly and unambiguously. The demand to stage a strike by the participants of the rally is qualified as irresponsible and hostile to the policy of restructuring.

At some enterprises, mostly at those of all-union subordination, however, part of the people observed an hour-long stoppage today. No detailed and much less generalized information is available as yet since the people in the administration of those enterprises who were contacted by phone refused to speak on the subject.

There is no doubt, however, that tomorrow or the day after information about the incidents will be accumulated, generalized, and an official assessment given.

Yesterday's conference of party and economy leaders in Vilnius discussed the general political situation in the city and the republic, the progress of the election campaign and, as the conference put it, the reaction of part of the city's residents to the decree on the use of Lithuanian and state language.

Speaking at the conference and answering questions was First Party [as heard] Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas.

Well, deviating from the conference briefly, here is the latest news about the leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Unofficial reports say that Algirdas Brazauskas today met the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, in Moscow. Yesterday the main evening news program "Vremya" broadcast by the Central TV contained an interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, who dwelled on the current inter-ethnic relations in Lithuania. A detailed interview with Algirdas Brazauskas was also broadcast by the BBC World Service yesterday night.

At yesterday's conference of Vilnius leaders it was emphasized there that pressure upon party and government bodies, upon economy leaders, as well as threats by actions are absolutely intolerable. On the contrary, the success of restructuring, inter-ethnic relations included, will to a great extent depend on good will demonstrated by work and tolerance, and finally on mutual accord.

It was once again emphasized with reference to fact that the decree on the state language is not undemocratic or discriminating against residents of other nationalities.

Armenian Train Derails; Panel To Investigate

PM2102120389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Train Derailed. Accident"]

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Feb—A 2,000-tonne freight train was derailed 18 February between Kaltakhchi and Nalband.

The electric locomotive was driven by engineer K. Nadoyan from the Leninakan Depot, and the freight car behind it remained on the tracks. The other 32 freight cars carrying economic freight fell onto both sides of the railroad. The train was traveling at a speed of approximately 50 km per hour. There were no casualties.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has set up a commission to investigate the cause of the accident.

Zaykov Meets Higher School Directors

LD1802000289 Moscow TASS in English 2122 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, on Friday met rectors and secretaries of party committees of Moscow's higher schools to discuss problems of higher educational establishments in the Soviet capital. Seventy-six institutions of higher learning train personnel in 297 specialties and conduct serious research work.

"The drive to renew Soviet society and promote openness and greater democracy sparked an unprecedented increase in students' activity", Zaykov said. "Young people's interest in socio-political issues has risen, the striving to develop a deeper understanding of the essence of changes being incurred and take a worthy place in perestroika has increased. But there are also negative phenomena which were generated both by the period of stagnation and also shortcomings in organising instructional and educational work".

"An increase in young people's social involvement takes place not always smoothly and our ideological opponents and demagogues who put on the robe of genuine fighters for perestroika are out to exploit this". "What gives rise to concern is that their activity does not meet a tangible rebuff in higher schools".

"Poor knowledge of young people's views and sentiments, the inability to influence youth, a slow and painful departure from dogmatic directives are still typical of part of social scientists. It should be remembered that room for speculation, fabrications and demagoguery appears where we do not show required activeness in formulating and tackling ripe problems".

Noting that the state of higher schools' material and technical base is not up to modern demands, Zaykov drew attention to the need to sizably increase capital investments in higher school construction. This is envisaged by the draft of a comprehensive territorial-and-sectoral programme, Progress-95. Great hopes are pinned on the development of contractual relations between institutes and sectors in which their specialists work.

Role of Communist Party Apparatchiks Analyzed

PM2102095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with A.K. Masyagin, consultant to the CPSU Central Committee Department of Party Building and Cadre Work, conducted by A. Ilin: "Stock of Trust: A.K. Masyagin, Consultant to the CPSU Central Committee Department of Party Building and Cadre Work, Continues the Discussion on the Party and Restructuring"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Ilin] The party and restructuring constitute perhaps today's most topical theme. I judge this both from PRAVDA readers' letters and from meetings at labor collectives and central establishments. For example, during readers' conferences at Leningrad's "Elektrosila" and "Admiralteyskiy Zavod" associations we PRAVDA staffers were asked very many blunt and incisive questions. What did the Central Committee think about the economic situation? When would bureaucracy finally be defeated? What was the position of particular Politburo members on specific problems? It was even suggested that PRAVDA introduce a special rubric which could discuss their individual contributions to restructuring.

What prompted these questions? Primarily the fact that the people—both Communists and nonparty people—believe in the new April course, and have thrown in their lot with it. That is why they pin their greatest hopes and expectations on the party and also make the greatest demands on the party—on its Central Committee and all party committees and CPSU members. This is also shown in the numerous responses received to the item "Restoring the Leninist Concept of the Party" that appeared in PRAVDA on 2 January this year.

[Masyagin] I would like to continue the discussion started in the newspaper, and on the whole support the participants in the conversation, while also disputing some things.

Discussion of this theme, which worries very many people, has indeed come to a head, because, as M.S. Gorbachev said at the meeting with Moscow city party organization activists, the party has embarked on preparations for the next congress.

I think it important to clarify what we mean when we talk about the Leninist understanding of the party as the political vanguard, and what it means under modern conditions. But that cannot be done if we are unaware of what the party was during the Stalin years and the period of stagnation.

We know that a system based on administration by injunction took shape in the early thirties. What role did the party play in it? To say that the system existed of its own accord and that the party had nothing to do with it would be a departure from the truth. It has to be frankly acknowledged that the party served to some extent as the system's lever and was, as it were, "incorporated" within it. That does not, of course, characterize all aspects of the party's role and activity in that period. But it was nevertheless forced to act as a kind of transmission belt between the leader and the masses.

[Ilin] I know from experience that readers do not believe promises that are unsupported by arguments and facts.

[Masyagin] Quite a few arguments can be adduced here. I will restrict myself to one. As is well known, there were just two party congresses held between 1934 and 1956. And the delegates' speeches at them were, as a rule, edited in advance and structured according to a certain pattern: absolute approval of the report, eulogizing of the leader, a report of one's own successes, assurances of new ones.... Although people did, of course, talk about shortcomings, they basically talked about individual omissions that did not affect the assessment given of the problems of sociopolitical development. All "freedoms" were completely ruled out.... No Central Committee plenums were held for years, and that includes throughout the war. Yet the country repeatedly found itself at crucial junctures and suffered many terrible trials.... And everything was decided and assessed by essentially one man, relying on his immediate entourage alone.

[Ilin] A. Tsipko's article "The Sources of Stalinism" (NAUKA I ZHIZN Nos 11 and 12, 1988, and Nos 1 and 2, 1989) claims that Stalin diverged from the Leninist concept of the party only once, when he called it the "order of swordbearers"....

[Masyagin] The author's conclusion is wide of the mark. In the Leninist concept, the party is the leader is the people. The party works out policy and paves the way, guided by theory, keenly attentive to the people's voice, and constantly checking its course against life and reality. No leader or narrow group of leaders can elaborate policy for the entire party. And the party cannot elaborate policy for the whole people. Party leaders work out policy in conjunction with the party, and the party works out policy in conjunction with the people. That is the only way to restore the Leninist concept of the party.

Since April 1985 the CPSU has been pursuing just such a course. The party and its Central Committee are not creating new dogmas to replace old ones, but are building on the basis of real life, taking into account the dynamics and the dialectic of the restructuring processes.

[Ilin] Yes, the supreme party organs are acting as the generator of the ideas of revolutionary restructuring. But on a local level, judging again by the letters, there is a certain lagging behind the development of renewal processes in society.

[Masyagin] The 19th all-union party conference signified a new quality, a breakthrough in the development of the whole party. You would logically expect that every local and primary party organization would have achieved a similar breakthrough in its activity in the period since the conference. Many new encouraging features have, of course, come to light. But judging even by PRAVDA's publications about report and election meetings and conferences, many organizations are still far from making a breakthrough. Yet party organizations everywhere need to not simply react to the events of restructuring, but to give a lead to restructuring. Restructuring of party work in line with the 19th all-union party conference decisions is essential, since it is difficult to ensure that the party acts as the political leader of the working people if this general concept is not transformed into specific tasks at different levels of the party structure and grasped by Communists themselves. We should be talking about mastering political methods of leadership and focusing party organizations' efforts and attention in many respects on new spheres of social life and areas of work.

It turned out historically that for many years virtually all the party's main efforts focused on the economy. Other spheres of society's life received marginal attention, as it were. And even today, an emphasis on production still prevails in party committees' practice. They continue to take on a great deal that could and should be tackled by other organizations. How, they say, can we ignore this? The grain has not been harvested, or potatoes lifted over there, a main hot water pipe has burst, produce has not been transported here.... You will appreciate that this is a political matter, and if that is the way things have turned out, we should drop everything and tackle what is urgent; people will not understand us otherwise. In other words, when the water reaches the neck, everyone starts swimming. The party organ is forced to act as an emergency rescue force.

But we can see that the water is still up to our necks, that we are still experiencing scarcity. So it is time to draw the logical conclusion: The approach itself clearly needs to be radically altered.

Last year I was in Uzbekistan. There was a large notice hanging in the entrance to the Communist Party Central Committee building. What did it show? It actually showed the figures for cotton handed over by each oblast. We know the fatal role that was played by the drive to meet the cotton plan at any price. Is it right that party cadres should set their sights primarily on the plan, even today?

I was also in one of the most remote oblasts, in Surkhan-Darya. The situation there regarding maternity facilities is at crisis point. It is overall a disaster for Uzbekistan, where there is a shortage of hundreds of maternity units and where the social sphere lags behind.

[Ilin] Do you mean that it is time to bring new indicators to the fore?

[Masyagin] I am personally convinced that it is harmful to build political work on the basis of any kind of competition. Experience shows that as soon as you start playing with figures and indicators (the number of party recruits, speakers at meetings, or lecturers), business soon becomes formalized and can result (and has resulted) in padding. In some places—and this is in party work—things are in a bad way.

That is why it is very important that formal indicators should in substance be eased out under restructuring. The party Central Committee has done a lot here. Note that there are no Central Committee resolutions now recording, say, that too few meetings have been held on such and such a question and not a single conference...on another question.

Life itself demands that party organizations, while not losing sight of the problems of mastering new management forms, should be more involved in questions of ideology and education. Let us take the issue of young people. During the years of stagnation the greatest damage was perhaps done to the younger generation. And although it has been repeatedly stated that these questions must be focused on, in practice they somehow slip imperceptibly out of focus.

[Ilin] National problems have made themselves acutely felt. Comrades from the Baltic republics, for example, openly acknowledge this: What kind of economy do we have now, they ask, when we spend at least three-fourths of our time dealing with these questions alone, attending rallies, taking part in discussions, and so forth?

[Masyagin] This is the price we are having to pay for neglecting many vital problems.

The attitude to people must be considered the quintessence of the new approach to party work, of the political approach. Since the April (1985) plenum the Central Committee has constantly stressed that party work must focus on people. But if you talk to the party aktiv you see that far from everyone knows what it means.

[Ilin] Perhaps, Aleksey Kononovich, the problem is that we are so used to the slogans "Everything for and on behalf of man" and "Man at the focus of attention" that we now regard them as banal turns of phrase.

[Masyagin] I think that there is a large measure of truth in that. But there is another facet to the question. Our approach to people or, as we are wont to say, to looking after people is redolent of some kind of charity: helping to build a hospital, a school, or a sports complex, establishing food supply.... And yet the main point lies elsewhere—namely, in seeking to ensure that all the "eternal" problems are at last and finally resolved everywhere automatically, as a matter of course. Only deformed development could bring it about that people in our country, despite all the declared principles, exist chiefly for production, and that there is little concern to create the conditions necessary for people to lead a decent life.

No society can, of course, guarantee an individual a happy life. But let us remember why the October revolution was carried out, and why our party exists. The goal, after all, is to guarantee everyone his honor and dignity, his rights and freedom. That was inscribed on our banner when the revolution began. Before that it was recorded on the banners of all the great revolutions. Finally, conditions should be created whereby a person may reveal his potential, and society can really ensure a competition of minds and talents.

These are the components, in my view, that should without fail form part of party organizations' work when people are said to be the focus of their attention. Taking an interest in everyone and knowing how they live, how they feel at work, whether their abilities are being revealed.... If this is lacking, then party organizations turn into institutions of a kind, although they are intended to be centers of spiritual influence.

And one more thing. The emerging social movements, which are sometimes quite powerful, the growing activeness of both traditional and informal organizations, and the growing force of public opinion are changing the whole political landscape quite fundamentally. And I would not exclude the possibility that party organizations will sooner or latter have to put into practice such ideas as cooperation, partnership, and even the conclusion of agreements. And the sooner they begin to grasp the new realities—based on democracy, pluralism, glasnost, and impartiality—the greater their stock of trust among the people will be.

[Ilin] You have touched there on a very acute question. In reality, Communists are sometimes unable to counter unhealthy trends or find a common language with those who back restructuring by their actions rather than by mere words. What is the main obstacle here? A shortage of instructions or orders?

[Masyagin] I think that we exaggerate somewhat when we talk about the proscriptive force of instructions. The fact that the traditions of the Stalinist period and the period of stagnation exist and are being overcome only with difficulty is another matter. Here the dead quite often hold the living in thrall, so to speak. Excessive organization, bureaucratic attitudes, restraint in voicing a personal opinion, and trepidation in front of the boss if you have expressed an idea that has not already been expressed by someone from the leadership.

The 2 January conversation noted the need to grant party organizations certain new rights. I would like to draw attention to the problem in reverse, as it were. Both the party and society experience the problem of unexercised rights—which, in my view, is a more urgent one. Rights given and proclaimed, but either not exercised at all or only partially so.

[Ilin] Are they guaranteed?

[Masyagin] Yes. I will give some examples. Let us take the election of secretaries from among several candidates—this is enshrined in the resolutions of party conferences and Central Committee plenums and recorded in instructions. However, are there many multicandidate elections? Not very many as yet. What's the problem? When you ask about this, comrades say: What's the point of a second candidate? Everyone trusts the leader. But if they do really trust him, why be afraid of competition?

Another example. The Central Committee January 1987 Plenum adopted a fundamentally new decision on the need to nominate nonparty people to leadership posts. And what has been done? Can you say, for example, that the press takes enough interest in this? Not long ago, for example, a nonparty person—the well-known composer Raymond Pauls—was appointed chairman of a culture committee in Latvia. This was reported. Attempts to clarify in party committees how many nonparty people have been nominated, however, yield nothing, because no one takes it seriously.

[Ilin] This is perhaps a serious rebuke to us journalists too.

[Masyagin] Well, let us take in principle elected organs' accountability to party organizations, which forms an indispensable element of the principle of democratic centralism.

How are the progress reports of many party committees and bureaus usually structured? The raykom reports back, and the primary party organizations are criticized; the obkom reports back, and the rayon committees are on the receiving end. You'll appreciate that everything is arranged topsy-turvy fashion. And we can in no way overcome this strange tradition if, instead of giving an account of ourselves, we deliver a lecture to our subordinates. It must be acknowledged that some changes have occurred, particularly in the reports made by elected organs to the 19th party conference on the leadership of restructuring. But there has not really been a breakthrough.

You are in charge of the "Pages of History" section, and you know that discussion and debate on political questions in party organizations was the characteristic feature of the Leninist party when Vladimir Ilich was alive. But today? There is virtually no discussion in party organizations. There was a flurry of activity, and there were disputes and discussions both before and during the 19th party conference. But now much is again proceeding in the old way.

[Ilin] The earlier conversation already touched on the fact that speakers capable of convincing people and of giving a lead in extreme situations have not been found among Communists.

[Masyagin] But what is really surprising about that? It is the result of the lack of a developed political life in the actual party organizations. If Communists and party workers do not take part in real political struggle (and

that does exist in our society), no party educational institutions, with their departments of rhetoric, will foster leaders and political militants who enjoy prestige among the masses. You often wonder what kind of political worker someone is at all if he does not know how to talk or write properly....

During the years of stagnation those who were capable of skillfully drawing up the required report and efficiently performing any assignment were valued. For my part, I would say that it is difficult to work if you are carrying that kind of baggage today. A lot of things have to be relearned, a lot of things in ourselves reexamined.

The following point also has to be taken into account. If you take the secretaries of party committees, from raykoms through republic central committees, 70-80 percent of them are national economic specialists.

[Ilin] But a party worker should be a specialist, not in the technique of production but in the technique of, if I can put it this way, of working with people, of spiritually influencing people.

[Masyagin] Absolutely. Not to mention that there should also be a certain vocation for this. The nub of that vocation, in my opinion, is that the person should first understand what such work with people means. And should understand people themselves. Should have a passionate desire to help them, defending social justice everywhere and in everything. Second, he should be able to sense the essence of social processes and analyze them. I think that the democratic choice of leaders currently taking place with the help of the party masses will really play a large role in rectifying the position. The recent report and election campaign signaled certain long-term changes in this respect. For example, the number of representatives of the intelligentsia among the members of Moscow rayon committees has increased. The fact that a professor and institute department chief was elected a member of the Sakhalin Obkom party bureau is also significant. These all mark steps toward increasing the party's intellectual potential.

[Ilin] But you are also bound to have noticed cases, which PRAVDA and other newspapers have written about, where some secretaries at party conferences received a larger number of "anti" votes but were nevertheless recommended for the same post again. Why does this happen?

[Masyagin] It seems to me that the reason for this is that cadres who were working, say, 10 or more years ago have not undergone any special inner evolution; they have remained in their jobs, and they quite often also play a considerable role in selecting new leaders. The old structures are still capable of reproducing. And then we come across the situation in cadre work of old wine in new bottles, as the saying goes. However, "blackballing" is a serious warning to such leaders. Let them know that no one is going to "bail them out" any more.

[Ilin] You seemed to want to dispute with your colleague L.A. Onikov from the Ideological Department—a participant in the conversation printed on January 2....

[Masyagin] Yes, it seems to me that the views expressed in that conversation on the principle of democratic centralism are not quite clear. As is well known, that is a Leninist principle and, if Stalin crudely violated it, the principle is not to blame. Neither principles nor laws can defend themselves. They are defended by people, and in our case that means Communists.

I would also note that since the 17th congress changes have been made to the formulation of the principle of democratic centralism. That happened at the 18th, the 22d, and finally the 27th party congresses. Must that be repeated? This should be considered well. The principles of the Statutes must be protected. They embody party continuity. You cannot go on supplementing and amending the principles all the time, turning them into instructions and directions. Instead one ought to follow the philosophical principle of discarding all that is superfluous.

[Ilin] We have already raised the question of the party apparatus. It is criticized very often and very sharply. Some people see apparatchiks as almost the main focus of all our ills. Do apparatchiks lead a pleasant and quiet life? Is the criticism fair? I imagine that some skeptics will smile and say: Look whom he is asking. It is clear that a man who works in the apparatus himself will defend the honor of the uniform and will parry the criticism. We would like a direct and frank answer, Aleksandr Kononovich.

[Masyagin] And I shall be frank. Of course, the complaints against the apparatus are largely justified. Nonetheless, I must point out that criticism of it has become a commonplace and has become somewhat ritualistic, with no examination of the real place of the apparatus or the functions which it has performed and still performs. In brief, it isn't very constructive.

Working alongside me are many worthy people who have their own views and defend their own positions when questions are being resolved. So the apparatus is not a monolith, not some mass of people whose distinctive human features have been obliterated, as it sometimes seems to outsiders. Everyone does as much work as is necessary.

The party apparatus is justly criticized when it supplants elected organs. But I would say this: Every elected organ gets the apparatus which it wants or which it deserves. The apparatus is led by the bureau, secretaries, the committee plenum; they set it assignments, call it to account, and so forth. So there is every opportunity for the apparatus to perform its working functions effectively without supplanting anyone.

But let us consider: What rights does the apparatus worker himself have? I would say: extremely few. He can be dismissed without much effort: You only have to make the decision and tell him. His fate does not depend in practice

on some party collective. It depends solely on the leaders of the party apparatus. What is the upshot of this? It is that a man's attention is focused primarily on the one who decides his fate. In the years of stagnation, that gave rise to toadying and other negative phenomena.

As you know, it has been proposed that apparatus candidates be selected on the recommendation of party organizations. That is a very good proposal. But to it should be added the requirement that when a worker is released there must be an explanation of the reasons for that decision at the party organization which recommended him. And the party collective must be able to express itself on this matter. I believe that the cadre work commissions created within party committees will help to organize real and specific monitoring of the apparatus' work, both from below and from above. And it is undoubtedly necessary—just as is the broadest glasnost in the work of party committees, and the participation of all Communists in it.

[Ilin] Probably not everyone would agree with what has been said here. But I think that they will appreciate the frankness in assessing such a tricky question.

[Masyagin] Here is the last point I would like to make. It seems to me that much has changed here as a result of restructuring—society, the party, people. They have changed or are changing for the better.

We have all long been brought up to believe that "time is on our side and victory will be ours." For that reason, it seems, some people have been somewhat disheartened—because the changes are not producing rapid or materially tangible results—that it is necessary to work even harder than before, and that there is still a need for restraint and patience. Yet during the early years of restructuring, when the spring wind of freedom was blowing, the horizon seemed boundless and unclouded.

I think that it is so important not to lose that fresh perception of the revolutionary transformations that have begun, not to lose heart because the wind is not always in the right direction, so to speak. For me personally, the program for the future is expressed in the simple words of the hero of "The Iron Flood" [1924 novel by A.S. Serafimovich]: "Go, go, go—that's the way to salvation, and force a way if they try to hem you in!"

Economic

Economists Discuss Ruble Convertibility
LD2002161789 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT
20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Galkin:

The Soviet economy cannot be expected to adopt complete rouble convertibility earlier than the end of next decade, according to many Soviet economists.

Profesor Vyacheslav Dashichev, a department head at the the World Socialist System's Economy Institute, explains that the time is needed to create "a new and integral economic mechanism complete with commercial, economic methods of management, high worker productivity and competitive goods," which, he contends, is the main condition for currency convertibility.

Economist Nikolay Shmelev, who advocates bold ideas regarding external credits, is very cautious when speaking of rouble convertibility.

"Without wholesale price reform, it is unfeasible," he argues. "Complete rouble convertibility is impossible without realistic proportions in the retail pricing system, which has to be drastically reformed, and undue haste is intolerable in this field."

Yuriy Shiryayev, director of the World Socialist System's Economy Institute, proposes a special transferrable rouble for settling accounts between socialist countries in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The transferrable rouble, he says, should be backed up with gold or convertible currency, with the degree of this backing determining the scale of rouble convertibility, which could be small at first but growing rapidly by increasing payments and credits.

"This rouble can then be used to credit projects not only in CMEA countries but also in the West," Shiryayev says indicating that the ECU has gone the same way.

Elements of convertibility are already appearing on the socialist markets.

The national currencies of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union and Mongolia have been mutually convertible since last year and can also be converted into transferrable roubles for payments between directly cooperating factories.

The scale of convertibility is still limited but the experiment is very important.

Recent Soviet government decisions have paved the way to currency auctions where exporting enterprises can sell their currency earnings for Soviet roubles.

This "domestic convertibility" will certainly increase interest not only in foreign economic activities but also in the entire range of problems which have to be resolved for the country to become more integrated into the world economy.

New Financial News Agency Formed in Leningrad
LD1802143389 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Leningrad February 17 TASS—A news agency formed in Leningrad has the purpose of collecting and circulating financial and commercial information in the north-west of the USSR and in Baltic countries. The

news agency was instituted by the Sverdlov machine-building amalgamation and the All-Union Market Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

The new organisation has become necessary because a large number of Soviet enterprises starts doing business on the world market directly. The economic reform made in the Soviet Union envisages that as of April 1, 1989 all enterprises, amalgamations, organisations, and cooperatives of the country will have the right to conclude deals on the foreign market.

"The analysis has shown that potential business partners both within and outside the USSR are interested in the information the agency can supply," a TASS correspondent was told by Pavel Sedletskiy, director of the news agency. "The agency's staff has already accumulated vast information about products, raw material, and production facilities in the area it services. The data bank is being constantly enlarged and can make it much easier for partners in different countries to set up joint enterprises and strike deals. The agency also intends to provide paid services for the training in international marketing the staff of enterprises which plan to do business on the world market".

Benefits of 'Special Economic Zones' Argued
PM1702153389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[From "Frank Dialogue" feature in which readers' letters are answered by B. Averchenko, P. Bogomolov, V. Gorlenko, A. Krushinskiy, A. Lopukhin, V. Chernyshev, and V. Shurygin: "Fears Are Unfounded"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] Economic zones in the USSR—is this not selling off our land, is this not limiting our sovereignty?

D. Shmakova (Vladivostok)

The first special zone—a "window" onto the world economy—was created in Shannon (Ireland) in 1959. Later "special economic zones," "export processing zones," "economic and technological development zones," and so on started to appear in dozens of countries in Europe, America, and Asia. They became one of the characteristics of the international division of labor and of the intensification of scientific and technical progress.

The names and principles of the organization and activity of such zones are diverse, but the basic aim is the same: To attract foreign capital and advanced technology in order to set up highly efficient production with the subsequent manufacture of output which is competitive on world markets. Moreover, a number of privileges are granted to foreign entrepreneurs: exemption from taxes for a certain period, tariff reductions for various services, and so on. Imports of essential raw materials and equipment and exports of ready-made output are exempt from taxes, and customs rules are liberalized. Moreover,

concern for living conditions and services is manifested: They must be up to world standards, for no self-respecting businessman will want to go to a cheerless "hole."

No matter in which country a special zone has been created—capitalist, developing, or socialist—it usually has both a foreign as well as an internal (although invisible) border to protect it from an uncontrolled influx of people and, even more important, from the influence of and encroachments by the mismanagement encountered in the country and the bureaucratic machine. It is a kind of "oasis" where economic laws operate, "a little piece of foreign territory," cosmopolitan [kompleksnyy] foreign territory, so to speak—with the most attractive elements of economic management from various foreign countries.

According to certain calculations, more than 600 "special zones" now exist throughout the world, but I do not know of a single instance where there has been any question of the organizing country losing sovereignty over its territory. Although, of course, if the zone is eliminated, foreign investors have the right to count on satisfactory compensation.

To a large degree the progress achieved by South Korea, which now ranks (together with Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan) among the "four Asian tigers" in the sphere of economics, is connected precisely with the practice of "special zones." However, there is one "but." In most instances the "special zones" are formed in regions with an abundance of cheap manpower, while a significant proportion of the raw materials and semifinished products for the enterprises being set up there is imported. This could result in dependence on foreign powers. But where we are in the Far East, where, in particular, the creation of special joint enterprise zones is planned, everything is different: There is not enough manpower (which is bad, of course), while on the other hand there are plenty of diverse raw materials. Until now we have not dealt with them thriftily: A total of 80 percent of Far Eastern exports were timber, fuel, and fish—mainly in unprocessed form. This is waste indeed! This is where national property is squandered! The simplest calculations show that if fish is exported in filleted form this increases profit several times over, while the figure for wood pulp in paper form is 10 times over. This intensified processing of raw materials is our special zones' "trump" card.

So this innovation should not be feared. On the contrary, we should fight to finally switch from protracted discussions about the problems of special zones to actions.

***Domestic Consumers Hurt by Export Provisions**
18200204 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Anatoliy Salutskiy: "Once Again About Group Egoism"]

[Text] The first responses to the article "Group Interest and Egoism" (PRAVDA 23 December 1988) confirm that people are seriously concerned about this social

phenomenon. Until khozraschet and self-financing are established there will be numerous coordination failures. Therefore a situation has been created wherein the soviets of the labor collectives sometimes make decisions that contradict nationwide interests. In the drive for immediate advantage they harm everyone, including themselves.

Inexpensive goods are gradually disappearing because of group selfishness. To be sure, the recently adopted decree of the USSR Council of Ministers regarding this issue inspires hope. But we are alarmed by the prospects of many enterprises of the so-called Group B. A sharp reduction of the proportion of the state order in machine building and the changeover to direct contractual ties, once good conditions were created for the development of the giants in Group A, placed medium-sized and small plants in a difficult position.

To figure out the current economic mechanism let us recall how machine building operated previously. If, say, a furniture combine had to acquire a couple of new machine tools, it submitted an order to its ministry, and the latter submitted it to the Gosplan or Gossnab. And the central agency, depending on its capabilities and also on the persistence of the furniture combine, "hammered" the machine tools into the plan of the machine builders. This was a long and purely administrative path, and the changeover to direct contractual ties between the client and the supplier finally helped to put an end to bureaucratic costs.

Everything was decisively simplified: The furniture makers can go directly to the machine tool builders, and they were glad to take advantage of their new rights. But the results depressed them: The machine tool plant would not accept an order for two machine tools.

"Order 30 of them and then we will make them," say the machine tool builders.

There was no reason for the machine tool builders to bother with two small machine tools; nowadays they were especially enthusiastic about machine tools with numerical program control—there is where the real profit is! But machine tools for processing wood?... No, the council of the labor collective categorically refuses. As a result, even in 1989 thousands of small enterprises and repair plants which require relatively simple, inexpensive equipment were unable to order it, therefore they never got started in the economic race. Their past arrears have increased even more, and their future looks quite bad: What modern items can they speak of without updating their equipment?

Large plants that acquire entire complexes and lines directly from the machine builders and have stood to gain a great deal from direct contracts have been transformed into some kind of monopolies before our very eyes. Economists and practical workers are having more and more to say about these monopolistic tendencies which cause a great deal of harm to the national economy. How does one fight these tendencies? To answer

this question more correctly, it is time to listen seriously to the viewpoint of the backward enterprises, those that are not invited to the forum but are only called on the carpet. For the group interests of the strong and the weak are increasingly diverging, and sometimes they are opposed to one another. I recall in this connection a curious conversation with an experienced ministry worker. Of course I was indignant about the 100-percent state order which restricted the independence of the plants. But they answered me:

"But who is complaining? VAZ, RAF, ZIL, Uralmash...the giants! But why are they complaining? Because it is not difficult for the director of Uralmash to find resources for an advantageous contractual order. If necessary, he will put nonparliamentary methods to work, for he has a hotline to the Gosnab. But what about a small, undistinguished plant? Where does it scare up the additional resources? There are none, none! Uralmash has already eaten them all up. It is no accident that the medium-sized and small plants have now begun to go after state orders that are fully supplied with resources. We reproach them for their desire to escape extra trouble, but this is a matter of a critical shortage of resources!

A completely new kind of group selfishness is now quickly appearing, one related to the development of cooperation. To explain what this is about, I shall again take an easy to understand example: The supply of medicines.

Today many foreign pharmaceutical firms have accumulated a multitude of proposals for cooperation that have come from Soviet cooperatives. They want to sell anything and everything for hard currency! V. Gulyashko, the deputy minister of the medical and microbiological industry, told me that the Universal cooperative is offering to sell its foreign partners unlimited quantities of pharmaceutical camomile and 34 other kinds of the most valuable medicinal plants grown in the USSR. Another cooperative is trying to trade in sea buckthorn oil, and a third in pink rodiola which is entered, incidentally, in the Red Book. The drugstore, whose supplies of folk drugs were meager in any case, became even emptier because the cooperators are outbidding state procurement workers at ever higher prices. They go to remote villages and buy up wholesale that same camomile and immortelle. And they are doing well if they sell them at three times the price in the cities. But they try to sell the most valuable medicinal plants for foreign currency, thus stealing from their own people. In addition, such group selfishness causes certain people to steal the plants that are in the shortest supply: For example, for immediate gain they destroy in an inhuman way the most medicinal wild Altaic buckthorn.

Or another example: The Far Eastern Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences proposed to a Japanese firm that they create a joint enterprise for manufacturing preparations made of natural ginseng, which the scholars intend to use to pay for equipment. Then they will begin to sell it for export, obtaining foreign currency in return.

The scholars also intend to sell preparations made of the eleutherococcus and antlers of the spotted deer. It seems to me that we should introduce a state monopoly on trade in medicinal plants so that national property will be used to benefit our people. At the same time we should increase the procurement prices for those who harvest the medicinal crop.

Are we really speaking only about medicinal plants? The pensioner Lidiya Ivanovna Ivanova from Sverdlovsk writes to me with bitterness: "I heard on the radio that cooperatives have been created in the north and that they gather berries, red whortleberry, cranberries, and also mushrooms and sell them abroad in prepared form. But why sell them abroad? Why not give these berries to our children? We have more than enough sick children, not to mention healthy children, to eat these berries. Why is it better to sell them to foreigners, and what will be left for us?"

But all this pales before another fact, about which I cannot write without shuddering. This fact was reported to the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry by a foreign firm on which it apparently had a shocking effect. It seems that one of the cooperatives offered them for currency...donated blood! Quite recently dozens of countries of the world, responding to the tragic disaster in Armenia, gave us the noblest and most valuable gift—donated blood. Tens of thousands of Soviet people came to the donation points to help those who were suffering from the earthquake. And at that time somebody decided to trade in blood for export.

Understandably, this is an individual and exceptional fact. Of course this should not cast a shadow on cooperation as a whole. What it symbolizes forces us to think about the dark forces of group selfishness that are unleashed by the slogan "What is not prohibited is permitted!" But it is well known that one extreme quickly gives rise to another. Today's flashes of this selfishness have been the result of the all-encompassing prohibitions of past years. And today we are threatened by rushing in the opposite direction: Having been frightened by certain antisocial manifestations, are we not trying to regulate the cooperative movement in such a way that ultimately "everything possible" will be prohibited?

Strange as it may be, we were brought to this development of events primarily by the extremist demands from certain economists to give the right to "boundless" initiative to cooperators. Having no experience in this new matter, at first we were in too much of a hurry to expand the boundaries of cooperation, and recently, under pressure from life itself, we have been forced to regulate the activity of certain kinds of it. In my opinion, this is the right step, which makes it possible to remove some of the social tension that is arising around cooperatives and bring the group interests of various segments of the society closer together. First it is necessary to gather experience, to smooth out the taxation and licensing services, and then we can take another step forward.

The restrictions have not affected honest cooperators. They have irritated only those in favor of "boundless" initiative of the Western kind. Incidentally, in the West long ago they created mechanisms that very flexibly regulate both entrepreneurs' incomes and export-import operations.

Certain foreign partners are now rubbing their hands together over our inexperience. Here I shall turn to those state enterprises that have been permitted to conduct currency operations (since 1 April this right has been given to all, including cooperatives). What unthinkable foreign exchange speculation arose in connection with this! Foreign firms overwhelmed us with a flow of proposals for contracts. Everyone and anyone is hungry for foreign currency—of course there is a critical shortage, for they will not take anything abroad that will not sell within the country.

But there are no foreign trade specialists in the plants. Therefore export transactions are frequently concluded at prices much lower than world prices, and import transactions at significantly higher prices. As a result, the country sustains losses, physical exports increase, and there is no more foreign currency (the drop in the price of oil is not taken into account in these calculations). The result of this is an even greater scarcity on the domestic market. Loud complaints are coming from retail trade, which does not receive enough domestically produced goods that are in short supply. There does not seem to be any way of bringing the idea of wholesale trade in means of production out of the stage of negotiations, and the supply for state enterprises is becoming more and more disorganized.

Foreign market speculation has also appeared because for the foreign currency they earn the plants (and cooperatives) can now acquire consumer goods. Certain enterprises that manufacture products for export have already opened up stores for foreign consumer goods. They are also buying up video systems, equipment for Finnish baths, and so forth. Of course, all this is rubber stamped by decisions of the council of the labor collective, for whom these transactions are advantageous. It would seem that things are not so bad. But let us recall group interest and ask a question: What will now happen to teachers and doctors, workers and engineers of the "rank-and-file" enterprises, pensioners, and tens of millions of people who can buy things only through the ordinary stores? Does this mean that there will be a new closed system of distribution for those who have access to the foreign market? For currency resources at the disposal of the state have decreased sharply and centralized imports have dropped.

Again we are seeing the results of group interest, which pits various social segments against one another. But, in the opinion of specialists, this problem has another negative aspect. Only part of the money earned by the plants is used to purchase equipment, and since each individual enterprise does not have so much foreign currency, most frequently the plants can purchase only

individual machine tools and adapters. As a result there has been a sharp increase in the proportion of consumption, and the modernization of production in the country as a whole with decentralized procurements is proceeding more slowly, and this threatens to be a problem in the future. Moreover, because of the unrestrained desire to sell anything and everything abroad, even at reduced prices, certain plants are now refusing to conclude domestic agreements.

Branch staffs are powerless to change anything in this process, and experienced foreign trade experts think that it would be expedient today to create branch export-import joint stock companies through which foreign currency transactions would be conducted. This would make it possible to coordinate them, to check on prices, and to reduce foreign currency losses. In general, our inexperienced shots in the dark sometimes evoke a smile from our foreign partners. For example, while extensively decentralizing foreign trade, at the same time we are creating a kind of "supercentralized" licensing service, which should protect the interests of the domestic market and the Soviet consumer. But is it capable of mastering foreign market speculation down to the last detail? And if such a service were to rely on branch joint stock companies—which have excellent information about the products of their plants and can coordinate well their export intentions with their domestic contractual connections—this would be a step in the direction of a more reasonable combination of group and state interests.

Scientific

'Mir' Crew Continues Experiments 17 Feb
LD1702151189 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—Correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

The crew of the orbital complex Mir are carrying on the planned research and experiments.

Today the cosmonauts by means of the magnetic spectrometer maria are performing a regular series of experiments to study the interrelationship between the characteristics of fluxes of elementary charged particles of cosmic origin in the near-earth space and seismic activity on earth.

The survey of the areas of the Crimea, Krasnodar, and Stavropol territories, and the pre-Caspian depression is planned under the programme for research into the earth's natural resources and environmental studies.

This work, the first cycle of which was accomplished on February 15, is being done within the scope of the Kuban-89 aerospace experiment to estimate the state of arable lands and pastures, to identify farmland areas

prone to erosion and oversaturated with mineral fertilizers. The photography and spectrometry of the earth's surface from space is accompanied by simultaneous photography from airborne laboratories and survey by ground-measuring facilities.

Today the cosmonauts are to replace individual assemblies of the radio telemetric systems—the warranty period of which expires—by new ones brought by the Progress-40 cargo spacecraft.

Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Valeriy Polyakov are feeling well.

Crew Replacement; New Plans

*LD1902001388 Moscow TASS in English 2203 GMT
18 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—A crew of cosmonauts will be launched from the earth on April 19 to the Soviet scientific orbital complex Mir to replace cosmonauts Valeriy Polyakov, Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev. Space expeditions will last not longer than six months. Later their duration will be increased to a year and a half. A TASS correspondent was told this on Saturday by deputy supervisor of the flight Viktor Blagov. He spoke about prospects for explorations on board the Mir station in an interview he gave to TASS in connection with the third anniversary of the station's launch observed on February 20.

Six blocks—spaceships or research laboratories—can be docked to Mir station simultaneously, Blagov said. Only one block, "Kvant", meant for astrophysical observation, is now docked to the station. A technological module which specialists regard as a prototype of a plant in space, will be docked to the station before the end of this year. Pilot production of extra pure monocrystals which can find uses in various areas of technology is to be started at the module. Experiments for their growth in weightlessness have been conducted for several years now.

Another novel feature will be special platforms fastened from the outside to Mir-Kvant complex. Scientific equipment and instruments installed on them could be directed at celestial bodies and objects on earth without changing the orientation of Mir station in space, the way it has been done so far. Besides that, the instruments in space could be operated by a specialist from earth. The productivity of research will be increased considerably.

The deputy supervisor of the flight said that eleven Soviet cosmonauts, as well as representatives of Syria, Bulgaria, Afghanistan, France worked on board the station during its orbital flight over three years. Alongside the wealth of data in various areas of science, extremely valuable medico-biological information has accumulated.

We expect the results of medical checks of Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov who spent 366 days in orbit" [quotation mark as received], Blagov said. "It will take

about a year to observe the state of their health. If the results of the observations are encouraging, several other flights will be made, after which it will be possible to plan an international program of man's flight to Mars."

Plans for New Modules

*LD2002223789 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT
20 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—The Soviet Union will put into space a new module carrying scientific equipment for docking with the "Mir" space station in the second half of this year, chief spacecraft designer Yuriy Semenov told Soviet television Monday.

Space officials plan an extensive spacewalk outside the module during which cosmonauts will use autonomous flying devices.

This module will shortly be followed by another, "technological" module. It will be a mini-factory for growing crystals in conditions of weightlessness.

The crystals are intended for enterprises making electronics and lasers. Space-grown crystals will make it possible to create new super-speed integrated circuits.

The "technological" module will carry a special unit for work in biotechnology. It will produce up to 100 kilograms of products a year.

The module will also carry ecological monitoring equipment being developed now, Semenov said.

The module is to start operating in orbit at the end of 1990 or the beginning of 1991.

The new modules will not only help cover the expenses on the creation of the "Mir" complex, which have so far been covered by only 25 per cent, but also bring considerable profits running into hundreds of millions of roubles.

Semenov said the "technological" module alone will bring one billion roubles in profits.

'Phobos' in New Orbit To Study Mars Satellite

*LD1802211988 Moscow TASS in English 2045 GMT
18 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the flight control centre:

The Phobos automatic station making a flight around Mars was transferred to a new orbit from which navigational measurements and observations of a Martian satellite, Phobos, will be made.

At 17 hours 06 minutes Moscow time on February 18 an autonomous engine of the station was fired at the command from the onboard control complex. As a result of the manoeuvre the spacecraft was transferred to an orbit

of observation around Mars close to a circular orbit with an average radius of 9,670 kilometres, the period of revolution of eight hours and the inclination of the orbit 0.5 degrees.

Upon concluding the manoeuvre the autonomous engine which had served its purpose was separated from the station at the command from the onboard control complex. Throughout the 220-day flight, the engine had been used for putting the station into an interplanetary trajectory, for making two corrections on the stretch of the flight on the Earth-Mars route, for the manoeuvre of putting the station into an orbit of an artificial Martian satellite and two subsequent manoeuvres for shaping the orbit of observation of Phobos.

During the flight on the observation orbit, it is planned to conduct observation of Phobos by means to study its form and relief in detail and also to make navigational measurements to determine the position with regard to a natural and an artificial satellites of Mars. The preliminary results of the measurements received were discussed at meetings of the International Scientific Council held at the Institute of Space Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The incoming information is processed.

The station will remain in the observation orbit for about four weeks, after which manoeuvres for rapprochement with Phobos will be made with the use of engines with small thrust.

Technical Conference on Mars Exploration Ends
*LD1802213888 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT
17 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—In a lapse of almost 15 years after American Viking probes landed on the surface of Mars, this planet is becoming once again a priority target of space programmes of the USSR, the United States, and other countries.

At an international scientific conference, which ended on Friday at the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of Space Research, scientists from over a dozen countries discussed technical specificities of the Mars-94 project and the range of scientific experiments.

Under this project it is planned to launch one or two space probes in the USSR in the autumn of 1994, which should reach a near-Martian orbit in September 1995. A balloon and several miniature research craft will be dropped on the planet's surface. The orbiters are supposed to be launched by Proton rocket-boosters. According to tentative estimates, the automatic craft's aggregate mass will amount to 6,500 kilograms, of which scientific instruments will account for 200 kilograms.

"A return to the exploration of Mars takes place on a new technical basis", Albert Galeyev, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Space Research Institute's director, told TASS.

"None of the eleven Soviet and American space probes which explored the planet in the 60s and in the 70s could provide a definite answer to the question whether life existed on Mars, was it preserved and if not then why was it extinct. More sophisticated telesystems, spectrometers, radars, and also a balloon and probes-penetrators will allow specialists to come closer to unravelling this mystery. An expedition to return Martian surface samples will evidently help scientists to come to grips with this problem. This is a very complicated and costly operation. Therefore, it should be preceded by a detailed exploration of possible areas for landing".

Galeyev stressed that the Soviet project does not repeat the American "Mars-Observer" which envisages the launch of a spacecraft to a near-Martian orbit in 1992, but has independent tasks to accomplish. For instance, the Mars-94 project stipulates a detailed exploration of the planet's atmosphere with the aid of spectrum equipment and the study of its magnetosphere.

The balloon experiment will be the first of its kind carried out simultaneously with the work of several research craft on the planet's surface. By the way, "Mars-Observer" plans to carry a French device to collect information from the Mars-94 balloon. This will enable specialists significantly to increase the amount of information transmitted to the earth.

"Mars-94 will allow people dramatically to extend knowledge about the planet of the solar system, which has more in common with the Earth than any other outer planet", says Tobias Owen, professor at New York University who attended the conference. "The promising part of the programme is radar probing of subsurface layers at a depth of several kilometres. Possibly, scientists will succeed in discovering permafrost".

'Cosmos-2003' Satellite Launched on 17 Feb
*LD1802093189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0910 GMT 18 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow 18 Feb (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-2003," was launched in the Soviet Union on Friday [17 February] by a "Soyuz" carrier rocket.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

[Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 February carries in its Second Edition on page 2 under the headline "Satellite Launch" a 200-word TASS report on the 17 February launch of the "Cosmos-2003" satellite. The

PRAVDA report provides the following orbital parameters: "initial orbital period—89.5 minutes; maximum distance from earth's surface (apogee)—271 km; minimum distance from earth's surface (perigee)—249 km; orbital inclination—62.8 degrees."

Commission Discusses Prevention of AIDS

LD2002160289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] A session of the all-union extraordinary antiepidemiological commission took place at the USSR Ministry of Health in Moscow today. Heads of the country's health service and representatives of ministries and departments closely related to medicine discussed problems of preventing the spread of the AIDS epidemic. The discussion was occasioned by the tragedy in Kalmykia, where 29 children and 6 mothers were infected with the immune deficiency virus within the walls of a medical establishment.

The country's chief state sanitary inspector, Deputy Health Minister Kondrusev, assessed antiepidemiological work as unsatisfactory. The principle cause of the situation which had developed was carelessness. In the opinion of Academician Pokrovskiy, president of the Academy of Medical Sciences, the main restraining factor was the absence of areas suitable for work and an inadequate material and technical base for serious scientific developments. Besides, many government decisions are not being fulfilled. The USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry and Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems are not in a position to guarantee a sufficient number of disposable syringes. The situation is aggravated by a shortage of qualified cadres and the low level of training of physicians. Having comprehensively analyzed the situation, the commission elaborated a program aimed at rectifying the state of affairs which has come about. However, it must not be forgotten that AIDS is not only a medical problem. Summing up the results of the commission's work, USSR Health Minister Chazov stressed that it is a very important state problem, which effects each citizen, and it needs to be solved by society as a whole.

Military

Candidate Deputies Sorokin, Yefimov Meet Veterans

PM2002140989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh report: "Veterans' Trust"]

[Text] In the Baltic Military District House of Officers, revolution, war, and labor veterans met with Fleet Admiral A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and Marshal of Aviation A. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force

and USSR deputy defense minister, who are candidates for USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans.

The candidates for people's deputy, who attended the meeting [as published], had many friends among those sitting in the hall—former colleagues and comrades-in-arms. And this determined the atmosphere of the meeting, which was characterized by its relaxed, particularly cordial, and at the same time businesslike character. Both candidates set out in detail their election platform, in which the main concern was to implement the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference for a qualitative improvement in the Armed Forces.

The meeting expressed its unanimous support for the candidates for people's deputy and gave them numerous mandates and told them their wishes. In their turn both candidates assured those who had assembled that if they were elected they would do everything to justify the great trust placed in them.

Army Political Aides Confer, Lizichev Attends

PM2002112989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 17 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Unnamed our correspondent report: "Increasing the Potential of Restructuring"]

[Text] A conference of political directorate first deputy chiefs of branches of the Armed Forces, districts, groups of forces, and fleets and also leading personnel of centrally accountable political organs has been held at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. There was a discussion of matters of increasing political and organizational work on preparing for the USSR people's deputy elections and also problems of improving the activity of commissions and groups on interethnic relations set up under political and party organs.

The conference was addressed by Admiral of the Fleet A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Colonel General V. Nechaev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and A. Sazonov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee subdepartment. Major Generals V. Sein, N. Grebenkin, K. Cherepanov, and others participated in the discussion.

The conference results were summed up by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

N. Shlyaga, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee subdepartment, and Yu. Filatov, instructor of a CPSU Central Committee subdepartment, participated in the conference work.

Komsomol Seeks To Commemorate Afghan Campaigners
PM1702134789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "At the Komsomol Central Committee": "Komsomol Central Committee Bureau Adopts Resolution 'On Commemorating Internationalist Servicemen Who Perished in Afghanistan'"]

[Text] The completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghan territory, the resolution states, is supported and approved by Komsomol members, young people, and Komsomol veterans. The final withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is seen as an important step toward peace and stability, as the reaffirmation of new political thinking, and as the assertion of realism and a constructive approach in resolving international problems. There have been many proposals about commemorating the internationalist servicemen who perished in Afghanistan.

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau supported the proposals from Komsomol members and young people.

It has been decided to propose to the USSR Council of Ministers that memorials be erected in Moscow and Tashkent to honor the fallen participants in the Afghan events. A remembrance day for dead internationalist servicemen is to be held every year during the period of the All-Union Remembrance Vigil.

The Komsomol Central Archive, Komsomol committees, and Komsomol glory museums have been instructed to continue working to create an archive of documentary records on Komsomol members who took part in providing international assistance to the Afghan people. Utilizing the experience of the "Annals of the Great Patriotic War" expedition, a collection of information for a memorial book is to be started. Proposals are being drawn up to name river vessels after internationalist heroes.

Support was expressed for the initiative of the "Molodaya Gvardiya" Publishing Association to issue publications on internationalist servicemen.

Mobile museums and social reception and consultation centers are to be opened on the basis of Komsomol Central Committee agitation trains.

The initiative of student detachments in building memorials to the dead on a patronage basis and providing free housing repair assistance to their relatives and families is to be supported.

The initiative of the Perm and Sverdlovsk Oblast Youth Housing Complexes to allocate in each housing project under construction apartments for invalids and the families of those killed in Afghanistan and to give priority to the children of the dead and service invalids in the allocation of places to preschool institutions is to be approved.

Work Proceeds on New History of Patriotic War
PM2002114789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[R. Danilov report: "History of the War Being Rewritten"]

[Text] Some 18 months ago the CPSU Central Committee Politburo supported the proposal to publish a 10-volume work on the Great Patriotic War. Work is now under way on the first volume.

And here is a sign of the times: A representative 2-day conference has been convened in Moscow involving both specialists and the public. One of its main tasks is to familiarize itself with the details of the material to be included in the first volume. The theme of the numerous reports and papers by leading historians and archivists is officially formulated as follows: "Documents From the USSR State Archive Foundation on Strengthening the Country's Defense Capability on the Eve of the Soviet People's Great Patriotic War 1941-1945."

A great deal has already been written about the prewar years but it is a fact that thousands of open and restricted documents (Soviet Army archives alone, for instance, contain more than 600,000 files on this period) were not put into scientific circulation.

The conference participants hope that it will prove possible when compiling the multivolume work to avoid the shortcomings of former works of this kind—one-sidedness, reticence, and lack of objectivity. The new documents that have been made accessible to researchers are a guarantee of this. There is an opportunity today to write the kind of history of the war that will not have to be rewritten soon and which will not put us to shame in the eyes of our descendants.